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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 16, November 1985



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20 March 1986

**USSR REPORT  
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST**

No 16, November 1985

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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[Text] PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!  
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INTRODUCTION

The land of the Soviets born of the Great October Socialist Revolution has traveled a long and glorious path. World historical victories have been won under the leadership of the Communist Party. Consistently expressing the interests of the working class and all working people and armed with the Marxist-Leninist teaching and with extremely rich experience of revolutionary struggle and socialist building, the CPSU is confidently leading the Soviet people along the course of communist creation and peace.

The party emerged in the political arena as the worthy continuer of the ideas of the socialist transformation of society proclaimed in the communists' first program document, "The Manifesto of the Communist Party," of the revolutionary traditions of the international workers movement, and of the unfading exploit of the heroes of the Paris Commune. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of scientific communism, relying on historical experience of the class struggle and the achievements of mankind's advanced thought, discovered the objective laws of social development, theoretically proved the inevitability of the downfall of capitalism, and substantiated the world historical mission of the proletariat as the maker of the new, socialist system. Their ardent slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" remains to this day the militant slogan of the workers movement.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the brilliant continuer of the cause of Marx and Engels, comprehensively developed their teaching under new historical conditions, provided answers to the fundamental questions of modern time, and equipped the workers movement with the theory of socialist revolution and socialist building and with a scientific system of views on the problems of war and peace.

Marxism-Leninism is an integrated revolutionary teaching. The party created by the great Lenin is the living embodiment of the combination of scientific socialism with the workers movement and of the unbreakable unity of theory and practice. It has always been, is, and will remain a party of Marxism-Leninism, a party of revolutionary action.

At each historical stage the CPSU has resolved the tasks scientifically substantiated in its programs. After adopting the first program at the second congress in 1903, the Bolshevik party led the working class, the peasantry, and all the working people of Russia into the struggle to overthrow the tsarist autocracy and later the capitalist system and passed through the flames of the three Russian revolutions. In October 1917 the working class took political power into their hands. A state of workers and peasants arose for the first time in history. THE CREATION OF THE NEW WORLD BEGAN.

After adopting the second program at the eighth congress in 1919, the party put forward the task of building [postroyeniye] socialism. Trailblazing, overcoming tremendous difficulties, displaying unprecedented heroism, the Soviet people under the Communist Party's leadership implemented the plan of socialist building elaborated by Lenin. SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY BECAME A REALITY.

After adopting the third program at the 22d congress in 1961, the party mounted tremendous work in all avenues of communist building. The Soviet people achieved great successes in developing productive forces, economic and social relations, socialist democracy, and culture and in molding the new man. THE COUNTRY ENTERED THE STAGE OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM. The role of the Soviet Union as a powerful factor in the struggle against the imperialist policy of oppression, aggression, and war and for peace, democracy, and social progress increased.

The time that has passed since the adoption of the third program has confirmed the correctness of its main theoretical and political guidelines. At the same time the accumulated experience and the scientific interpretation of the changes in the country's domestic life and in the world arena make it possible to define more precisely and more specifically the prospects for Soviet society's development, ways and means of achieving the ultimate goal--communism--and the tasks of international policy under the new historical conditions.

THE THIRD CPSU PROGRAM IN ITS PRESENT EDITION IS A PROGRAM OF THE SYSTEMATIC AND COMPREHENSIVE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIALISM AND OF THE FURTHER PROGRESS OF SOVIET SOCIETY TOWARD COMMUNISM ON THE BASIS OF AN ACCELERATION OF THE COUNTRY'S SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. IT IS A PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS.

PART ONE. THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM IS THE MAJOR CONTENT OF THE MODERN ERA

## I. THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE BUILDING [POSTROYENIYE] OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

Mankind's world historical turn toward socialism, which was begun by the October Revolution, is the law-governed result of social development.

Capitalism is the last exploiter system in the history of mankind. After lending powerful impetus to the development of productive forces, it then became an obstacle in the way of social progress. The entire history of capitalism is the history of the deepening of its fundamental contradiction--the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation--of the intensification of the exploitation of the working class and all the working people, and of the exacerbation of the struggle between labor and capital, between the oppressed and the oppressors. It is the history of economic crises, socioeconomic upheavals, and aggressive wars and conflicts that bring incalculable calamities to working people.

In the early 20th century, the process of the concentration and centralization of capital led to the emergence of mighty monopoly unions of capitalists that seized the main levers in all economic and political life. Capitalism entered its highest and final stage--the stage of imperialism. As Lenin expressed, "Imperialist capitalism became the greatest oppressor of nations" and the main source of aggressive wars.

At the stage of imperialism, the material conditions take shape for the replacement of capitalist production relations by socialist production relations and the objective and subjective preconditions for a victorious socialist revolution ripen. HISTORY ENTRUSTED THE MISSION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMER OF THE OLD AND CREATOR OF THE NEW SOCIETY TO THE WORKING CLASS. In implementing that mission, the working class expresses not only its own class interests but also the interests of all working people.

In Russia the contradictions of imperialism, deepened by Tsarist oppression and by survivals of serfdom, were displayed with exceptional force. It was the weakest link in international imperialism and the focal point of its contradictions. It was to there that the center of the world revolutionary movement shifted. The Russian proletariat was faced with a most difficult and responsible task--being the first to break the chain of the bourgeoisie's world domination. This could only be done under the leadership of a party of the new type--a militant revolutionary organization of the proletariat.

THE FORMATION OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY WAS THE TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN AND INTERNATIONAL WORKERS MOVEMENT. It was an expression of an objective requirement of social development and of the proletariat's class struggle, the fruit of the scientific perspicacity, and the result of the tireless political and organization work of Lenin, who rallied Marxists around himself. Lenin's impassioned slogan, "Give us an organization of revolutionaries and we will turn Russia upside down!" met with an ardent

response in the hearts and minds of the workers and progressive people of Russian society and the best representatives of the laboring people. Lenin elaborated the ideological, political, and organizational principles of the party and the methods of its work among the masses. The party of the new type was created in implacable clashes with revisionism and right-wing opportunism, dogmatism, and leftist adventurism.

The 1905-1907 revolution—the first people's revolution of the imperialist era—had already shown the working class' strength and was the prologue to future victories by the proletariat. The February bourgeois democratic revolution of 1917 swept tsarism away but did not rid the people's masses of social and national oppression or the travails of the imperialist war and did not resolve the contradictions rending Russian society. Socialist revolution became an immutable demand of the times.

Russia's working class was distinguished by supreme revolutionariness and organization. It was headed by a Bolshevik party that had been tempered in political battles and possessed an advanced revolutionary theory. Lenin armed it with a clear perspective for the struggle by creating a doctrine on the possibility of achieving a victory by the proletarian revolution, under the conditions of imperialism, initially in one or a few individual countries.

In response to the Bolshevik party's call and under its leadership the working class entered into resolute combat against the power of capital. The party united into a single powerful stream the proletarian struggle for socialism, the peasant struggle for land, the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of Russia, and the nationwide movement against the imperialist war and for peace, and channeled it toward the overthrow of the bourgeois system.

#### THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION BECAME A TURNING POINT IN WORLD HISTORY AND DETERMINED THE GENERAL DIRECTION AND MAIN TRENDS OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT. INITIATED AN INEXORABLE PROCESS--THE REPLACEMENT OF CAPITALISM WITH A NEW, COMMUNIST SOCIOECONOMIC FORMATION.

A state of the dictatorship of the proletariat emerged for the first time in history. Uniting all working people around itself, the working class embarked on the resolution of the most complex tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the creation of the foundations of the new society.

The gaining of political power and of victory on the fronts of the civil war and the routing of foreign military intervention, which opened prospects for building the new life, generated a mighty surge of forces and revolutionary energy among the working masses. They overcame the deprivations and difficulties engendered by economic ruin, counterrevolutionary conspiracies and sabotage by the bourgeoisie, and the country's technical-economic and cultural backwardness. At times during the transitional period the class struggle resulted in acute clashes. The land of the Soviets was subjected to fierce attacks from hostile, capitalist encirclement and to numerous military and political provocations.

Relying on the masses' enthusiasm, repelling the onslaughts of right and "left" opportunists, and consolidating its ideological-political and organizational unity, the party steadily pursued Lenin's general line toward building [postroyeniye] socialism.

The main means of production were handed over to the people. THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE LAND, PLANTS, FACTORIES, AND BANKS ensured the necessary preconditions for establishing and developing public socialist ownership and the organization of a planned economic system. The country's INDUSTRIALIZATION turned the Soviet Union into a mighty industrial power. THE COLLECTIVIZATION of agriculture became a profound turning point in economic relations and in the peasantry's entire way of life. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry was placed on a firm socioeconomic foundation. As a result of the CULTURAL REVOLUTION, illiteracy was abolished, broad scope was opened for the development of the working people's creative powers and spiritual flowering, the socialist intelligentsia was formed, and Marxist-Leninist ideology became dominant in Soviet people's consciousness.

An outstanding accomplishment of socialism was the solution of THE NATIONALITIES QUESTION. THE OCTOBER VICTORY PUT AN END FOREVER to national oppression and the inequality of nations. The voluntary association of free, equal peoples in a single multinational state—the USSR—played an enormous part. In the process of building socialism, the rapid economic, social, and cultural progress of former national outlying districts was ensured. National hostility became a thing of the past and the fraternal friendship, close cooperation, and mutual aid of all USSR peoples became the norm of life.

All this meant that a social change of world historical importance was effected—an end was put forever to the age-old rule of private ownership and man's exploitation of man was abolished. On the basis of the common interests of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, people's intelligentsia, and working people of all nationalities, the sociopolitical and ideological unity of Soviet society was formed. The working man became the full master of the country. The socialist society was basically built in the USSR.

The Great Patriotic War was a stern test of the new system. Rallied around the party and displaying unprecedented heroism, the Soviet people and their Armed Forces dealt a crushing defeat to the shock detachment of world imperialist reaction. By its victory, the Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to the liberation of the European peoples from nazi slavery and to the salvation of world civilization from Hitlerism's obscurantism. The defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism opened up new opportunities for the peoples' struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, and socialism. The Soviet people's victory raised high the Soviet state's international prestige.

The USSR rapidly healed the grave wounds of the war, considerably strengthened its economic, scientific-technical, and defense potential, and strengthened its international positions. SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY HAD WON FULLY AND DEFINITIVELY.

Relying on what had been achieved, Soviet society continued to make confident headway on all avenues of economic, sociopolitical, and spiritual development.

A unified national economic complex was formed in the country. Major new regions were developed in the north and east of the country and the use of natural resources improved. There was a considerable increase in national income and social labor productivity. The standard of the people's prosperity was substantially improved and an imposing program of housing construction was implemented. The people's spiritual wealth was increased, a transition to universal secondary education was effected, and Soviet science and technology achieved outstanding successes. It was in the Soviet Union that the first atomic power station and the first atomic icebreaker were built, the first artificial earth satellite was launched, and the first manned spaceship launched.

Socialist social relations were strengthened. A new social and international community of people--the Soviet people--was formed.

Displaying Bolshevik principledness and self-criticism, relying on the masses' support, the party performed a large amount of work to eliminate the consequences of the personality cult and deviations from Lenin's norms of party and state leadership and to rectify errors of a subjectivist, voluntarist nature. Socialist democracy was further developed and Soviet legality was strengthened.

The establishment of military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact and NATO was a historic achievement for socialism. It strengthened the positions of the USSR, the socialist countries, and all progressive forces, and thwarted the calculations of imperialism's aggressive circles of winning a world nuclear war. The conservation of this equilibrium is an important guarantee that peace and international security will be safeguarded.

The experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries convincingly demonstrates the indisputable socioeconomic, political, ideological, and moral advantages of the new system as a level of man's progress superior to capitalism and it provides answers to questions which the bourgeois system cannot resolve.

Socialism is a society on whose banner are printed the words "Everything in the name of man, everything for the sake of man." This is a society in which:

-- the means of production are in the hands of the people and an end has been put forever to man's exploitation of man, social oppression, the rule of a privileged minority, and the poverty and illiteracy of millions of people; ..I used to make spacing consistent.

-- very broad scope has been opened up for the dynamic and planned development of productive forces, and scientific-technical progress entails not unemployment for millions but the steady improvement of the entire people's prosperity;

-- an equal right to labor and its just reward in accordance with the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor" has been ensured and the population enjoys social benefits such as free medical services and education and housing for a minimal payment;

-- the indestructible alliance of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia has been asserted, women have been given truly equal rights with men, a reliable path into the future has been opened up for the younger generation, and social security for labor veterans has been guaranteed;

-- national inequality has been eliminated and the actual and legal equality and friendship and fraternity of all nations and ethnic groups have been asserted;

-- genuine democracy, power wielded for the people and by the people themselves, has been established and is being developed, and the citizens' increasingly broad and equal participation in the management of production, social, and state affairs has been ensured;

-- the ideas of freedom, human rights, and the dignity of the individual have been filled with real living content, the unity of rights and duties is being ensured, and the same laws and moral norms and the same discipline operate for one and all;

-- a truly humanitarian Marxist-Leninist ideology rules, the people's masses have been given access to all sources of knowledge, and a progressive culture has been created, absorbing all that is best from world culture;

-- a socialist way of life based on social justice, collectivism, and comradely mutual aid has formed, giving the working person confidence in the future and spiritually and morally ennobling him as the creator of new social relations and his own destiny.

Socialism is a society whose thoughts and actions in the international arena are aimed at supporting the people's desire for independence and social progress and are subordinated to the main task--preserving and strengthening peace.

The Soviet people's persistent labor and the major successes in the economy, the social and political spheres, science, and culture have led our country to scale new historical heights opening up the stage of developed socialism. The task of the all-around and comprehensive improvement of socialist society and the fuller and more effective use of its potential and advantages has been put on the agenda.

## II. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE FORCES OF PROGRESS AND REACTION IN THE MODERN WORLD

The worldwide historical process of social liberation that began with Great October was marked, after the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism, by the overthrow of the exploiters' power in a number of countries in Europe, Asia, and later in America also. SOCIALISM, WHICH ORIGINALLY BECAME A REALITY IN OUR COUNTRY, WAS TRANSFORMED INTO A WORLD SYSTEM. The Marxist-Leninist theory of building [postroyeniye] the new society has been tested in practice on an international scale. Socialism has become established over vast areas of the world and its indisputable advantages have been graphically confirmed by the examples of a whole group of countries and

hundreds of millions of people are following the path of the creation of a communist civilization. More and more new peoples are denying capitalism their trust, will not link their prospects for development with it, and persistently strive for the type of social structure and social relations that have already become established in the socialist countries.

Socialism's successes are all the more impressive in that they have been achieved in what is historically a very short space of time, under conditions of unceasing pressure from imperialism--from economic pressure and ideological subversion to direct attempts to organize counterrevolutionary coups.

The significance of the experience accumulated in the socialist countries does not fade. The decades that have elapsed have enriched the practice of socialist building and graphically revealed the diversity of the socialist world. At the same time, the experience of these decades testifies to the tremendous significance of the GENERAL LAWS OF SOCIALISM'S DEVELOPMENT such as: the power of the working people, with the working class having the leading role; leadership of society's development by a communist party armed with the ideology of scientific socialism; the establishment of social ownership of the basic means of production, and on this basis planned economic growth in the interests of the entire people; the implementation of the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor"; the development of socialist democracy; equality and friendship among all nations and ethnic groups; and the defense of revolutionary gains against the encroachments of class enemies.

The utilization of general laws in the specific conditions of each of the socialist countries is the basis of their confident forward movement, the basis for overcoming the difficulties of growth and for resolving promptly the contradictions that arise, and represents the real contribution of the ruling communist parties to the general process of socialist development.

Socialism has called into being a new, unprecedented type of international relations taking shape among the socialist states. Its firm foundation is Marxist-Leninist ideology; class solidarity; friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance in resolving the tasks of the building and defense of the new society; and equality and respect for the independence and sovereignty of each state.

The relations of social internationalism have found their fullest embodiment in the SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. The community countries--the participants in CEMA and the Warsaw Pact--are united by their common vital interests and goals and by bonds of broad, multifaceted cooperation, and coordinate their actions in international affairs. History has never before seen a community of countries where nobody has or can have special rights or privileges, where international relations have truly become relations between peoples, where living, fruitful ties have become established and are developing at every level--from the highest party and state leadership to the labor collectives. The community augments the forces of the fraternal states in socialist building and helps to ensure their reliable security.

The objective requirement for increasing rapprochement between the socialist countries flows from socialism's very nature. Whereas in the capitalist world

the law of unevenness of economic, sociopolitical, and cultural development operates and the strong countries grow rich by plundering the weak and reinforce their backwardness in every way, socialism creates the necessary conditions to pull the less developed countries up to the level of the leading countries. The higher and more nearly uniform the socialist countries' level of social development is, the richer and deeper their cooperation and the more organic the process of their rapprochement are.

The formation of the world system of socialism and the formation and strengthening of the socialist community led to a RADICAL CHANGE IN THE CORRELATION OF FORCES IN THE INTERNATIOANL ARENA in favor of the peoples fighting for social progress, democracy, national freedom, and peace. The socialist community is the most prestigious force today, without which no question of world politics can be resolved. It is the firm bulwark of peace on earth, the most consistent defender of sound, peaceful, democratic principles in international relations, and the main obstacle in the path of imperialist reaction.

The young world of socialism, oriented toward the future, is opposed by the exploitative world of capitalism, which is still strong and dangerous, but has already passed its zenith. THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IS DEEPENING. Its sphere of domination is narrowing irreversibly and it is becoming increasingly obvious that it is historically doomed.

Present-day capitalism differs in many respects from what it was at the beginning and even in the middle of the 20th century. In the conditions of state monopoly capitalism, which combines the strengthen of the monopolies and of the state in a single mechanism, the conflict between the enormously increased productive forces and capitalist production relations becomes increasingly acute. The internal instability of the economy is intensified as expressed in the slowing of its overall growth rate and in the interweaving and deepening of cyclical and structural crises. Mass unemployment and inflation have become a chronic disease and budget deficits and state debts reach colossal scales.

A direct result of the capitalist concentration and internationalization of production is the strengthening of the multinational corporations, which extract huge profits through the exploitation of the working people on a worldwide scale. They not only undermine the sovereignty of young states, but also encroach on the national interests of the developed capitalist countries.

In an attempt to adapt to the changed situation, capitalism constantly maneuvers. The bourgeois state redistributes a significant proportion of national income in favor of big capital through the budget and seeks to place the latest scientific and technical achievements at its own service. The machinery of exploitation has become more complex and sophisticated. More and more profit is being squeezed out of the working people's skills, intellectual forces, and nervous energy.

In a situation of the growing influence of world socialism, from time to time the working people's class struggle forces the capitalists to make partial concessions and to make certain improvements in working conditions, remuneration, and social security. This is done in order to preserve what is

most important--the domination of capital. But this maneuvering is increasingly frequently combined with coercive actions and a direct onslaught by the monopolies and the bourgeois state on the working people's living standard.

Under capitalism, the scientific and technical revolution entails grave social consequences. Millions of working people, shut out of the gates of the enterprises, are condemned to loss of professional skills and to material privations and lose all confidence in the future. A significant proportion of young people, after receiving education, cannot find an application for their efforts and knowledge and suffer because of the hopelessness of their situation. Mass unemployment persists whatever the short-term economic situation, and the real prospect of its further growth is fraught with the most serious shocks to capitalism as a social system.

The monopolies have seized dominant positions in the agrarian sector of the economy. Millions of farmers are forced out of production and those who manage to survive hold on at the cost of excessive labor and privations. The fate of farmers' families depends entirely on market fluctuations and the arbitrary actions of the monopolies. The lot of the peasants in former colonies and semicolonies is especially grave. Small and medium-sized city businessmen are exploited more and more by big capital and are caught in a net of financial dependence.

Even in the most developed capitalist countries, great numbers of people are without shelter, are illiterate, and are deprived of medical attention. The ignominious discrimination against national minorities persists and women's rights are encroached upon.

In the political sphere, imperialism is characterized by a trend toward the strengthening of reaction in all avenues. Where the working people, through a stubborn struggle, have secured certain democratic rights, state monopoly capital wages a persistent and, at times, cunningly disguised offensive against the rights. In situations where it is in danger, it does not hesitate to resort to political blackmail, repressions, terror, and punitive acts. Neofascism is increasingly active in the political arena. Where conventional forms of suppression of the working people do not work, imperialism installs and supports tyrannical dictatorships to take direct military reprisals against progressive forces. Seeking to weaken the working people's international solidarity, imperialism kindles and provokes national egotism, chauvinism, racism, and contempt for the rights and interests of other peoples and their national cultural and historical heritage.

The inhumane ideology of present-day capitalism does increasing damage to people's spiritual world. The cult of individualism and permissiveness, malicious anticommunism, and the exploitation of culture as a source of profit lead to the propagation of spiritual aridity and the moral degradation of society. Imperialism engendered the wave of terrorism that has swept through capitalist society. The role of the bourgeois mass information media, which dull people's consciousness in the interests of the dominant class, is becoming increasingly pernicious.

THE UNEVENNESS OF DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTRIES WITHIN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM IS DEEPENING. Three leading centers of interimperialist rivalry have emerged: the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. The competitive struggle between them for markets, spheres of application of capital, raw materials sources, and superiority in the decisive spheres of scientific and technical progress is intensifying. New economic and political centers of rivalry are forming, above all in the Pacific and in Latin America. Contradictions between bourgeois states are becoming exacerbated. The imperial ambitions and self-interested policy of the U.S. monopolies and their readiness, on the basis of selfish considerations, to sacrifice the interests and security of other states, even their allies, are giving rise to increasingly wide indignation and alarm in the world.

Imperialism bears responsibility for the huge and growing gap in levels of economic development between the industrialized capitalist countries and the majority of states that have gained liberation, and for the persistence of extensive zones of hunger, poverty, and epidemic diseases in the world.

The more severely the course of historical development gnaws away at imperialism's positions, the more hostile to the people's interests the policy of its most reactionary forces becomes. Imperialism offers severe resistance to social progress and makes attempts to halt the course of history, undermine socialism's positions, and take social revenge on a worldwide scale. The imperialist powers seek to coordinate their economic, political, and ideological strategy and try to create a common front of struggle against socialism and against all revolutionary, liberation movements.

Imperialism is reluctant to confront the political realities of the modern world. Ignoring the will of sovereign peoples, it seeks to deprive them of the right to choose their own path of development and threatens their security. This is the main reason for the outbreak of conflicts in various regions of the world.

The citadel of international reaction is U.S. imperialism. It is from here, above all, that the threat of war emanates. Laying claim to world domination, it arbitrarily declares whole continents to be zones of its "vital interests." The policy pursued by the United States of diktat, of imposing unequal relations on other states, of supporting repressive antipopular unequal relations on other states, of supporting repressive antipopular regimes, and of discrimination against countries that are inconvenient to the United States sows disorganization in interstate economic and political relations and hampers their normal development.

The bloody war against Vietnam, the many years of blockade against Cuba, the flouting of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, the intervention in Lebanon, the armed occupation of defenseless Grenada, the aggressive actions against Nicaragua—these are just some of the countless crimes which will always be the most ignominious pages of imperialism's history.

Imperialism's greatest crime against the peoples is the race for nuclear and other arms, which it has unleashed on an unprecedented scale. This brings the monopolies unheard-of profits. The enormous military spending is a grave

burden on the working people's shoulders. The weapons manufacturing monopolies, the generals, the state bureaucracy, the ideological apparatus, and militarized science, coming together to form the military-industrial complex, have become the most zealous champions and organizers of the policy of adventurism and aggression. The sinister alliance between the manufacturers of death and the imperialist state power is the buttress of extreme reaction, a constant and increasing source of the danger of war, and the convincing confirmation of the political, social, and moral bankruptcy of the capitalist system.

No "modifications" and maneuvers by present-day capitalism will or can abrogate the laws of its development, eliminate the acute antagonism between labor and capital and between monopolies and society, or extract the historically doomed capitalist system from a state of all-embracing crisis. The dialectics of development are such that the same means that capitalism employs with a view to strengthening its positions inevitably lead to the exacerbation of all its profound contradictions. Imperialism is capitalism decaying and moribund, the eve of socialist revolution.

THE WORKING CLASS HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THE MAIN REVOLUTIONARY CLASS OF THE MODERN ERA. In the capitalist world it is the main force struggling to overthrow the exploiter system and build [postroyeniye] the new society.

Life confirms the Marxist-Leninist tenet about the growth of the role of the working class in society. The growing application of science in production is supplementing its ranks with representatives of mental labor. During class battles the working class is rallied, creates its own political parties, trade units, and other organizations, and conducts an economic, political, and ideological struggle against capitalism. The scale of this struggle is expanding, its forms are becoming more diverse, and its content is being enriched. The proletariat's fundamental interests are making the need to achieve the unity of the workers movement and solidarity actions by all its detachments increasingly essential.

The young and rapidly growing working class in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is faced with difficult tasks. It is opposed both by foreign capital and local exploiters. Its political maturity and organization are increasing in struggle.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS THE VANGUARD OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT AND ALL FORCES OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS. Communists struggle for both the immediate and long-term goals of the working class, for the interests of all working people, and for social progress, peace, disarmament, and universal security. The communist movement is the most influential ideological and political force of the present day.

The revolutionary parties of the working class are guided by the scientific theory of social development--Marxism-Leninism--and pursue a principled class policy. They are distinguished by their conviction of the historical inevitability that capitalism will be replaced by socialism, their clear understanding of the objective laws of socialist revolution in whatever forms, peaceful or nonpeaceful, it is implemented, and their ability to use the

general principles of the struggle for socialism under the specific conditions of each country.

The strength of revolutionary parties lies in the fact that they firmly defend the rights and vital aspirations of the working people, indicate ways of escaping from society's state of crisis, offer a real alternative to the exploiter system, and provide answers imbued with social optimism to the fundamental questions of the day. They are the genuine expressers and the most steadfast defenders of their countries' national interests.

The consistently class-based course enhances the communist parties' prestige despite the fact that imperialism's political and ideological apparatus is operating increasingly perfidiously, combining discrimination with the persecution of communists and open anticommunist propaganda with support for those elements within the workers movement which oppose the class policy and international solidarity and advocate social reconciliation and partnership with the bourgeoisie. The monopoly bourgeoisie and reactionary forces attack communists so fiercely precisely because they represent a movement that has deep roots in social development and reflects the most urgent interests of the people's masses.

A typical feature of our time is THE UPSURGE OF MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS IN THE NONSOCIALIST WORLD. In capitalist countries, the antagonism between the monopolies and the vast majority of the population is deepening. The intelligentsia, employees, farmers, representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie and national minorities, young people, and students are increasingly becoming actively involved in the struggle against the domination of the monopolies and the reactionary policy of the ruling classes. People of various political outlooks are demanding that the militarization of society and the policy of aggression and war be ended and that racial and national discrimination, the infringement of women's rights, the deterioration in the position of the young generation, corruption, and the predatory attitude of the monopolies toward the utilization of natural resources and the environment be ended. These movements are objectively aimed against the policy of reactionary imperialist circles and merge into the common stream of the struggle for social progress.

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE OF COUNTRIES THAT HAVE THROWN OFF THE COLONIAL YOKE TO STRENGTHEN THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND ENSURE SOCIAL PROGRESS integral part of the world revolutionary process. The collapse of imperialism's colonial system and the emergence of dozens of independent states on its ruins was the historic gain of the national liberation revolutions which substantially influenced the correlation of forces in the world.

In the years of independence, many of them have achieved notable successes in economic and cultural building and in strengthening their national statehood. Collective forms of these countries' struggle for their rights in the international arena have emerged. But experience has shown that their path to strengthening political independence and to ensuring economic and social renewal seriously complicated by the legacy of the colonial and semicolonial past and the actions of imperialism.

In pursuing a policy of neocolonialism, imperialism is striving to emasculate the sovereignty gained by the young states and to maintain and even step up control over them. It is trying to draw them into the militarist orbit and use them as springboards for its aggressive global strategy. In striving to achieve these goals, the imperialists use methods of military pressure and economic diktat and support domestic reaction. Even countries that have long since won state independence--such as the Latin American states, for instance--have been forced to wage an intense struggle against the domination of the monopolies of the United States and the other imperialist powers.

Exploiting the economic and technological dependence and the unequal position of the liberated countries in the world capitalist economy, imperialism mercilessly exploits them, exacting tributes running into many billions [currency not specified] and exhausting these states' economies. The gigantic debt of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to the industrially developed capitalist states has become an important channel for their exploitation by imperialism, first and foremost U.S. imperialism. At the same time, the resistance of these countries' peoples to the imperialists' actions is growing. They are continuing a persistent and just struggle against neocolonialism, interference in their internal affairs, racism, and apartheid. This resistance objectively merges with the common anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples for freedom, peace, and social progress.

The noncapitalist path of development, THE PATH OF A SOCIALIST ORIENTATION, selected by a number of liberated countries, opens up broad prospects for social progress. Their experience confirms that under contemporary conditions, given the correlation of forces existing in the world, the opportunities are broadened for previously enslaved peoples to overthrow capitalism and to build a future without exploiters, in the interests of the working people. This is a phenomenon of great historic significance.

Overcoming the resistance of the internal and external reaction, the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties are pursuing a course toward the liquidation of the domination of the imperialist monopolies, of the tribal elite, feudalists, and reactionary bourgeoisie, toward strengthening the state sector in the economy, encouraging the cooperative movement in the countryside, and enhancing the role of the working masses in economic and political life. Protecting their independence from the onslaught of the imperialists, these countries are expanding cooperation with the socialist states. The path they have selected accords with the genuine interests and aspirations of the peoples' masses, reflects their aspiration for a just social system, and coincides with the main avenue of mankind's development.

**THE MOST ACUTE PROBLEM FACING MANKIND NOW IS THE PROBLEM OF WAR AND PEACE.** Imperialism is to blame for two world wars that exacted a toll of many tens of millions of lives. It threatens a third world war. Imperialism places the achievements of human genius at the service of the creation of weapons of monstrous destructive force. The policy of imperialist circles prepared to sacrifice the fates of whole peoples intensifies the danger that such weapons might be put into action. Ultimately, this threatens a global military conflict as a result of which there would prove to be neither victors nor vanquished, but world civilization could perish.

The question as to which purposes the fruits of the scientific and technical revolution will be used for, has become one of the chief questions in the contemporary sociopolitical struggle. Science and technology in our time provide the opportunity to ensure on earth an abundance of blessings and to create material conditions for the flourishing of society and the all-around development of the individual. But they--these creations of man's intellect and hands--are being turned against man himself by dint of class egoism and for the sake of the enrichment of the elite holding sway in the capitalist world. Such is the flagrant and intolerable contradiction with which mankind has arrived at the threshold of the 21st century.

In themselves, science and technology do not carry a threat to peace, but this threat is carried by imperialism and its policy--the policy of the most reactionary militarist, aggressive forces of the present time. Only by curbing the forces can this threat be done away with.

In a world packed with acute contradictions and in the face of the threatening catastrophe, there is just one sensible, just one acceptable way out--THE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. This is not simply an absence of wars. It is the kind of international order whereby not military force, but good-neighorliness and cooperation would predominate and whereby a broad exchange of the achievements of science and technology and of cultural values for the benefit of all peoples would take place. Deliverance from the expenditure of enormous resources on military needs would make it possible to channel the fruits of labor exclusively toward creative goals. States that have embarked on the path of independent development would be protected from outside encroachments, which would facilitate their movement along the path of national upsurge. Favorable opportunities would also be revealed for the solution of mankind's global problems by the collective efforts of all states. Peaceful coexistence accords with the interests of all countries and all peoples.

There has never been such an awesome danger hanging over mankind, but neither have there ever been such real opportunities to preserve and strengthen peace. By pooling their efforts, the peoples can and must avert the threat of nuclear annihilation.

The growing potential of the forces of peace is confronting the aggressive policy of imperialism. These include the active, consistently peace-loving policy of the socialist states and their growing economic and defense might. It includes the policy of the vast majority of the states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America which have a vital interest in the preservation of peace and the ending of the arms race. It includes the antiwar movements of the broadest people's masses on all continents, which have become a long-term and influential factor of public life. A sober reckoning of the real correlation of forces is even leading many statesmen and politicians of capitalist states to an understanding of the danger of continuing and expanding the arms race.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that however great may be the threat to peace being created by the policy of the aggressive forces of imperialism, THERE IS NO FATAL IMEVITABILITY OF WORLD WAR. IT IS POSSIBLE TO AVERT WAR AND

TO SAFEGUARD MANKIND FROM CATASTROPHE. THIS IS THE HISTORIC VOCATION OF SOCIALISM AND OF ALL PROGRESSIVE, PEACE-LOVING FORCES OF OUR WORLD.

The whole course of world development confirms the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the nature and basic content of the contemporary epoch. THIS IS THE EPOCH OF THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM, OF THE HISTORIC COMPETITION OF THE TWO WORLD SOCIOPOLITICAL SYSTEMS, THE EPOCH OF SOCIALIST AND NATIONAL LIBERATION REVOLUTIONS, OF THE DOWNFALL OF COLONIALISM, THE EPOCH OF STRUGGLE OF THE CHIEF MOTIVE FORCES OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT--WORLD SOCIALISM, THE WORKERS AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, THE PEOPLES OF THE LIBERATED STATES AND THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS--AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ITS POLICY OF AGGRESSION AND OPPRESSION, AND FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

The constant growth of these forces and their interaction is a guarantee that the hopes of the peoples for a peaceful, free, and happy life will be translated into reality. For all its unevenness, complexity, and contradictoriness, mankind's movement toward socialism and communism is inexorable.

#### Part Two. The CPSU's Tasks for the Improvement of Socialism and the Gradual Transition to Communism

##### I. THE COMMUNIST PERSPECTIVE OF THE USSR AND THE NEED TO ACCELERATE SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The CPSU's ultimate goal is the building [postroyeniye] of communism in our country. Socialism and communism are two successive phases of the single communist formation. There is no sharp boundary between them: the development of socialism, the increasingly full revelation of its potential and advantages, and the consolidation of its inherent general communist principles in fact signify society's real advance toward communism.

COMMUNISM IS A CLASSLESS SOCIAL SYSTEM WITH THE UNIFIED OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION BY THE ENTIRE PEOPLE, WITH FULL SOCIAL EQUALITY FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY WHERE PRODUCTION FORCES WILL GROW ALONGSIDE PEOPLE'S ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT ON THE BASIS OF CONSTANTLY DEVELOPING SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, ALL SOURCES OF PUBLIC WEALTH WILL MERGE IN A FULL STREAM AND THE GREAT PRINCIPLE "FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS ABILITIES AND TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS" WILL BE IMPLEMENTED. COMMUNISM IS A HIGHLY ORGANIZED SOCIETY OF FREE AND AWARE WORKERS IN WHICH SOCIAL SELF-MANAGEMENT WILL BE ASSERTED, LABOR FOR THE BENEFIT OF SOCIETY WILL BECOME THE FIRST VITAL REQUIREMENT AND CONSCIOUS NEED FOR EVERYONE, AND EACH PERSON'S ABILITIES WILL BE USED TO THE PEOPLE'S GREATEST BENEFIT.

Communism's material-technical base presupposes the creation of production forces which open up opportunities for the full satisfaction of the sensible requirements of society and the individual. All production activity under the conditions of communism will be built on the use of highly effective technical means and technologies and man's harmonious interaction with nature will be ensured.

At the highest phase of communist formation, the directly social nature of labor and production will be asserted in full. As a result of the definitive overcoming of vestiges of the old division of labor and the connected substantial social differences, the process of the formation of a socially homogeneous society will be completed.

Communism marks the transformation of the system of the people's socialist self-management and of socialist democracy into the highest form of society's organization--communist social self-management. As the necessary socioeconomic and ideological prerequisites develop and all citizens are enlisted to management, given the existence of the appropriate international conditions, the socialist state, as Lenin predicted, will increasingly become the "transitional form from state to nonstate." The activity of state organs will acquire a nonpolitical nature and the need for the state as a special political institution will gradually disappear.

An inalienable feature of the communist tenor of life is a high standard of awareness, public activeness, discipline, and self-discipline on the part of the members of society whereby the observance of the same universally accepted rules of communist intercourse will become an innate need and habit for every person.

Communism is a social system in which the free development of each person is a condition for the free development of all.

The CPSU does not set the aim of anticipating in every detail the features of full communism. As we advance toward it and experience in building communism is accumulated, scientific notions of the supreme phase of the new society will be enriched and given concrete form.

Socialism's development into communism is defined by the objective laws of the development of society, which have to be considered. Experience shows that any attempts to rush ahead and to introduce communist principles without a consideration for society's level of material and spiritual maturity are doomed to fail and may generate economic and political losses.

At the same time the CPSU proceeds from the premise that dilatoriness cannot be allowed in implementing urgent transformations and resolving new tasks. The party believes that in the seventies and early eighties, alongside the undoubted successes that were achieved, there were certain unfavorable tendencies and difficulties. They are connected to a considerable degree with the fact that changes in the economic situation and the need for in-depth transformations in all spheres of life were not promptly and properly assessed and due persistence was not displayed in their implementation. This prevented the fuller utilization of the potential and advantages of the socialist system and held back our advance.

The CPSU believes that under present-day domestic and international conditions, Soviet society's all-around progress and advance toward communism can and must be ensured on the paths of THE ACCELERATION OF THE COUNTRY'S SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. That is the party's strategic course aimed at the qualitative transformation of all aspects of the life of Soviet society: the

fundamental renovation of its material-technical base on the basis of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution; the improvement of social relations and above all of economic relations; in-depth changes in the content and nature of labor and of the material and spiritual conditions of people's lives; and the activation of the entire system of political, social, and ideological institutions.

The party connects the successful solution of the projected tasks with THE ENHANCED ROLE OF THE HUMAN FACTOR. Socialist society cannot function effectively without finding new ways of developing the masses' creative activity in all spheres of social life. The greater the scale of the historical goals, then the more important it is that millions should, with a proprietorial interest, take a responsible, aware, and active part in their achievement.

On the basis of accelerating socioeconomic development, Soviet society must scale new heights, which means:

IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD--the raising of the national economy to a fundamentally new scientific-technical and organizational-economic level and its transition to an intensive development footing; the attainment of the highest world level of social labor productivity, output quality, and production efficiency; the ensuring of the optimum structure and balance for the country's unified national economic complex; a considerable improvement to the standard of socialization of labor and production; and the approximation of kolkhoz and cooperative ownership to ownership by all the people and in the long term the merging of the two;

IN THE SOCIAL FIELD--the ensuring of a qualitatively new standard for the people's prosperity while consistently implementing the socialist principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor"; the creation of a basically classless structure of society and the erasing of the major socioeconomic and cultural and consumer differences between city and countryside; the increasingly organic union of physical and mental labor in production activity; the Soviet people's further cohesion as a social and international community; the masses' high standard of creative energy and initiative;

IN THE POLITICAL FIELD--the development of the people's socialist self-management through the increasingly full involvement of citizens in the management of state and public affairs, the improvement of the activity of the elected organs of people's power, the enhanced role of trade unions, the Komsomol, and the working people's other mass organizations, and the effective use of all forms of representative and direct democracy;

IN THE FIELD OF SPIRITUAL LIFE--the further consolidation of socialist ideology in Soviet people's consciousness, the full assertion of the moral principles of socialism and the spirit of collectivism and comradely mutual aid, the provision of access for the broadest masses of the population to the achievements of science and the values of culture, and the formation of a comprehensively developed individual.

The result of these transformations will be a qualitatively new state for Soviet society—what Lenin called "whole socialism," [tselnyy sotsializm] which fully reveals the new system's tremendous advantages in all spheres of life. A historic step forward will thus be taken on the path toward the supreme phase of communism. The party will constantly correlate its policy, economic and social strategy, and tasks of organizational and ideological work to the communist perspective.

## II. THE PARTY'S ECONOMIC STRATEGY

The task set by the party of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development requires profound shifts first and foremost in that decisive sphere of human activity--the economy. A sharp turn toward production intensification must be implemented and each enterprise and each sector must be reoriented toward the complete and priority utilization of the qualitative factors of economic growth. The transition to a more highly organized and more highly efficient economy with comprehensively developed productive forces, mature socialist production relations and a well adjusted economic mechanism must be ensured. Before the end of the year 2000 the country's production potential must be doubled and fundamentally qualitatively renewed.

The party and the people are resolving these tasks under conditions of the further deepening of the scientific and technical revolution, which has a powerful influence on all aspects of modern production, on the entire system of social relations, and on man himself and the environment he inhabits and opens new prospects for considerably increasing labor productivity and the progress of society as a whole.

Socialism's historic vocation is to place the achievements of advanced science and the most sophisticated and powerful technology at the service of building communism and thereby provide a firm material base for the implementation of the CPSU's main program goals--the rapid growth of the people's prosperity and the comprehensive development of man and the strengthening of our motherland's economic and defense might.

### ACCELERATING SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS IS THE MAIN LEVEL FOR IMPROVING PRODUCTION EFFICIENCY

The fundamental question of the party's economic strategy is to cardinally accelerate scientific and technical progress. We are faced with IMPLEMENTING A NEW TECHNICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY and on that basis transforming society's material and technical base.

The rapid RENEWAL OF THE PRODUCTION APPARATUS ON THE BASIS OF ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY and the widespread introduction of the most progressive technological processes and flexible production systems making it possible to switch swiftly to production of new outputs and providing the greatest economic and social effect is of paramount importance. Comprehensive mechanization must be completed in all sectors of the production and nonproduction sphere and a major step must be taken in the automation of production with the transition to automated shops and enterprises and automated control and design systems. The electrification, chemicalization,

robotization, and computerization of production will be carried out on an increasingly wide scale, as will be the application of biotechnology.

The party will promote in every way possible the further buildup and efficient utilization of the country's SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL POTENTIAL and the development of scientific research that opens new opportunities for major revolutionary shifts in economic intensification. The universal introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology into production, management, and the service and leisure spheres must be ensured. Science will fully become a direct productive force.

On the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the fundamental transformations in equipment and technology, and the mobilization of all technical, organization, economic, and social factors a considerable INCREASE IN LABOR PRODUCTIVITY, without which, as V.I. Lenin taught, "the final transition to communism is impossible," must be achieved. It is planned to increase labor productivity by 230-250 percent over the next 15 years as an important landmark along the road to the highest labor productivity.

It is necessary to make maximum use of the reserves of labor productivity growth at each association, enterprise, and workplace. It is necessary to struggle actively to reduce the labor-intensiveness of articles, to reduce losses of worktime, to introduce the latest equipment and technology, to strengthen order and discipline, to improve norm setting, to make extensive use of progressive forms of scientific labor organization, to raise production standards, and to strive to ensure that labor collectives become increasingly stable.

Scientific and technical progress must be aimed at radically improving the UTILIZATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES, RAW AND OTHER MATERIALS, FUEL, AND ENERGY at all stages--from the extraction and comprehensive processing of raw materials to the production and utilization of end products. It is necessary to accelerate the pace of reducing the material-, metal-, and energy-intensiveness of national income. Resource-saving will be a decisive source for satisfying the growth in the national economy's requirements for fuel, energy, and raw and other materials.

The party's economic policy will always focus on RAISING THE TECHNICAL STANDARD QUALITY OF OUTPUT in every possible way. Soviet output must embody the latest achievements of scientific thought, correspond to the highest technical and economic, aesthetic, and other consumer demands, and be competitive in the world market. Improving its quality is a reliable way of more fully satisfying the country's need for necessary articles and the population's growing demand for various goods. Low quality and substandard goods represent a waste of material resources and the people's labor. The party will actively support the struggle for the honor of the Soviet brand. Output quality must be a matter of professional and patriotic pride.

The effectiveness of scientific and technical progress depends not only on increasing the production of the latest equipment but also on the BETTER UTILIZATION OF FIXED CAPITAL and increasing the productivity of each unit of equipment and each square meter of production area. The prevailing trend of a decline in the return on capital must be overcome and an increase in it must be ensured in the future.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress makes ever higher demands on working people's general and vocational education. The line of improving the entire system of training and increasing the qualifications of cadres and systematically ensuring conformity between workplaces and manpower resources in all sectors and regions of the country will be persistently pursued.

The struggle for the comprehensive intensification and rationalization of production and its supreme efficiency on the basis of scientific and technical progress is organically combined under conditions of the planned socialist economic system with the implementation of the humanitarian goals of Soviet society, full employment, and the steady improvement of all aspects of people's lives.

#### THE STRUCTURAL REORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL PRODUCTION

The transition to the path of intensification requires serious STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE ECONOMY. THE NATIONAL ECONOMY MUST undergo a flexible and timely restructuring in line with the progressive shifts in science, equipment, technology, and social and individual needs. It is necessary to develop at a higher rate sectors ensuring scientific and technical progress and the successful resolution of social tasks and to seek the optimum correlation between consumption and accumulation and improvements in the proportions between the production of means of production and objects of consumption on the one hand and the agroindustrial complex sectors on the other. The social orientation of the economy will be stepped up and the switch to the fuller satisfaction of the Soviet people's growing needs will be consistently implemented.

In this connection new demands are made on INVESTMENT POLICY. It is called upon to ensure an increase in the effectiveness of capital investments and their concentration in the decisive sectors on which the rapid achievement of the highest national economic effect, the balanced development of the economy, and the obtaining of the greatest growth in output and national income per ruble of expenditure depend. It is necessary to shift the center of gravity away from new construction to the technical retooling and modernization of existing enterprises, to considerably increase the proportion of funds channeled into these goals in the total volume of production capital investment, and to increase the proportion of expenditure on equipment and machines in that investment. The paramount task is to improve the correlation between capital investments in resource-extracting, processing, and consuming sectors and to redistribute funds in favor of sectors that ensure the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

The task of turning the USSR's economy into the most sophisticated and powerful in the world requires the further development of HEAVY INDUSTRY--the foundation of economic might.

The party allots the key role in the implementation of the scientific and technical revolution and the realization of the latest achievements of science and technology to MACHINE-BUILDING. The acceleration of the pace of Soviet machine-building's growth is the main direction of development for the future and the basis for scientific and technical progress in all sectors of the national economy and for maintaining the country's defense capability at the proper level. Machine-building is called upon to produce systems and complexes of machines, equipment, and instruments of the highest technical and economic standards, systems and complexes that ensure revolutionary changes in technology and the organization of production, manifold increases in labor productivity, reductions in material- and energy-intensiveness, improvements in output quality, and growth in return on capital. Machine tool building, the electrical equipment industry, microelectronics, computer equipment, instrument-making, and the entire information technology industry--the genuine catalysts of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress--must receive priority development.

It is necessary to strengthen the potential of and implement a qualitative shift in metallurgy, the chemical industry, and other sectors of heavy industry that produce STRUCTURAL MATERIALS, to constantly expand the range and improve the quality of materials, and to increase the output of the most economic and progressive new types of these materials.

A most important task is to efficiently develop THE COUNTRY'S FUEL AND ENERGY COMPLEX. The steady satisfaction of the country's growing needs for all types of fuel and energy requires the improvement of the structure of the fuel and energy balance, the accelerated boosting of the nuclear power industry, the extensive utilization of renewable sources of energy, and consistent and purposeful work to save fuel and energy resources in all sectors of the economy.

An indispensable condition of the country's socioeconomic progress is to further strengthen and enhance the efficiency of the AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX AND THE FULLY SATISFY THE COUNTRY'S NEEDS for its products. Agriculture's switch to an industrial basis must be completed, scientific farming systems and intensive techniques must be introduced everywhere, land utilization must be improved and its fertility increased, considerable growth in the yields of all agricultural crops and in livestock productivity must be ensured, the feed base must be strengthened, the stability of agricultural production must be ensured, its dependence on unfavorable natural and climatic conditions must be reduced, and losses of the harvest that is produced must be precluded. Agro-industrial integration will be stepped up, and the technology, techniques, and organization of the production, procurement, transportation, storage, and processing of agricultural produce will be raised to a new level.

Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and agro-industrial associations, which constitute the basis of socialist agriculture, are called upon to make a decisive contribution to meeting the country's needs for agricultural produce. At the

same time, enterprises' subsidiary farms and citizens' private plots, collective horticulture, and truck farming will be used to supplement the country's food resources.

The CPSU will channel efforts into ensuring accelerated growth of the production of CONSUMER GOODS AND THE ENTIRE SERVICES SPHERE in the interests of the all-around satisfaction of the Soviet people's needs. Enterprises, associations, and organizations in all sectors of the national economy must be involved in this.

The party allot a important role in improving the country's unified national economic complex to retooling and increasing the efficiency of the work of all sectors of the PRODUCTION INFRASTRUCTURE--the electricity, oil, and gas supply systems, communications, and information support for the national economy. Special attention must be devoted to developing a unified transportation system, improving all its components, and creating a ramified network of roads with all necessary amenities.

With a view to intensifying the economy and accelerating scientific and technical progress, the technical and economic standard of CONSTRUCTION must be substantially improved, construction work must be turned into a unified industrial process, the quality of project and construction work must be increased and its cost reduced, and the time taken to construct projects and assimilate production capacities must be shortened.

The party will continue to devote unremitting attention to improving the SITING OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES, which must ensure savings in social labor and the comprehensive and highly efficient development of each region of the country. On the basis of the deepening of social division of labor, the national economies of all union republics will be further developed and their contribution to satisfying the entire country's needs will increase. The structure of existing territorial production complexes and economic ties must be further improved and enterprises engaged in the processing of raw materials must be sited as close as possible to the areas where these materials are extracted. It is necessary to make fuller use of the potential of small- and medium-sized towns and worker settlements by siting in them specialized production facilities linked with the production of output under production sharing agreements with large enterprises and with the processing of agricultural and local raw materials and the provision of services to the population.

The accelerated development of the productive forces of SIBERIA AND THE FAR EAST has been and continues to be part and parcel of the party's economic strategy. Strictly ensuring the comprehensive solution of production tasks and developing the entire social infrastructure in the interests of improving people's working and living conditions are of particular economic and political importance in opening up new regions.

In defining the prospects for national economic development the CPSU proceeds from the need to improve FOREIGN ECONOMIC STRATEGY, and to make fuller use of the potential of the mutually advantageous international division of labor and, first and foremost, of the advantages of socialist economic integration.

Foreign economic, scientific, and technical ties will be deepened and progressive structural shifts will be implemented in exports and imports in the interests of improving national economic efficiency and ensuring independence from capitalist countries in strategically important avenues.

#### IMPROVING SOCIALIST PRODUCTION RELATIONS, THE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM, AND ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT METHODS

The party sees the constant improvement of production relations, the maintenance of a stable correlation between them and the dynamically developing production forces, and the prompt exposure and resolution of the nonantagonistic contradictions which arise between them as necessary preconditions of the acceleration of society's socioeconomic progress.

The party's attention will continue to be centered on the STRENGTHENING AND AUGMENTATION OF SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OF THE MENAS OF PRODUCTION, which is the basis of socialism's economic system. It is necessary to further increase the level of socialization of production and its planned organization and to steadily improve the forms and methods of realization of the advantages and potential of ownership by the whole people.

The boosting of agriculture's production forces and the development of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration will promote the further rapprochement and, in the long term, the merging of kolkhoz-cooperative ownership with ownership by the whole people. This process will take place as a result of the all-around development and strengthening of the two forms of socialist ownership and the increasingly full realization of the potential of the kolkhoz-cooperative sector of the economy.

The party will persistently develop in the labor collectives and in every working person a sense of proprietorship in relation to public property and will adopt all the necessary measures to protect socialist property, cut short any attempt to use it for self-interested purposes, eradicate forms of appropriation of goods which are alien to socialism, and safeguard the citizens' constitutional right to personal property.

The party attaches great significance to IMPROVING DISTRIBUTION RELATIONS, which have an active influence on the growth of collective and personal interest in the development of social production and on people's standard of living and way of life. The line of ensuring the most efficient distribution of the social product and national income and of ensuring that the machinery of distribution is a reliable barrier to unearned income and to leveling in labor remuneration--to everything that is contrary to the norms and principles of the socialist society--will be consistently pursued. It is necessary to exercise strict control of the extent of labor and consumption, to step up the interest of collectives and of every worker in the attainment of the best national economic results, and to skillfully combine moral and material incentives for labor activity.

The further development of the RELATIONS OF ECCHANGE is an urgent task. It is necessary to increase the reliability of economic ties, seek a dynamic correlation between demand and supply, improve the circulation of material and

monetary resources, and accelerate the turnover of circulating capital. It is necessary to make fuller use of money-goods relationship in accordance with the new content which is inherent in it under socialism, to strengthen the credit system, to increase the purchasing power of the ruble, to strengthen the thrift policy and the monitoring of the quantity and quality of work, and to use more fully and effectively the entire arsenal of economic levers and incentives.

The acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development requires the constant IMPROVEMENT OF LEADERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY and the reliable and efficient functioning of the economic machinery, which incorporates diverse, flexible forms and methods of economic management, seeking to ensure that these conform to the changing conditions of economic development and the nature of the tasks being resolved.

The improvement of management should be based on the more profound, comprehensive utilization of the advantages and potential of the socialist planned system of the economy and economic laws and should take full account of changes in production forces and production relations and the rise in the level of education, consciousness, skills, and experience of the broad masses of working people. It is called upon to ensure the optimum combination of personal interests and the interests of labor collectives and various social groups on the one hand and the interests of the whole state and the whole people on the other, and thus to utilize those interests as the motive force for economic growth.

The entire management system must be oriented toward increasing the contribution of each component of the national economy to the attainment of the final goal--the fullest possible satisfaction of society's requirements with the lowest possible expenditure of all types of resources. This is an essential law of socialist economic management and a basic criterion in assessing the activity of sectors, associations, and enterprises, and all production cells.

It is necessary to ensure the consistent implementation of Leninist management principles and above all the principle of DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM, WHICH EXPRESSES THE UNITY OF ITS TWO BASES--both increasing the effectiveness of centralized leadership, and significantly extending the economic autonomy and responsibility of associations and enterprises.

The attention of central management organs should be concentrated to an ever increasing degree on the resolution of the strategic tasks of economic and social development and the practical implementation of an integrated policy in the sphere of scientific and technical progress and capital investments, structural shifts in the national economy, the proportionality of social production and the strengthening of the system of planned statewide reserves, the siting of production forces, labor remuneration and social security, prices, tariffs, finance, accounting, and statistics.

The party considers it necessary to increase the effectiveness of PLANNING AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR THE REALIZATION OF ITS ECONOMIC policy. Planning is called upon to be an active lever for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic

development, the intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technical progress, and the implementation of progressive economic decisions, and to ensure balanced and dynamic economic growth. A leading place in the plans should belong to qualitative indicators which reflect the efficiency of utilization of resources, the scale of renewal of output, and the growth of labor productivity on the basis of the achievements of science and technology. It is necessary to resolve economic and social tasks comprehensively, to organically combine long-term, 5-year, and annual plans, to make planning more scientific, to strengthen plan discipline, to ensure that statewide interests take priority, and to resolutely cut short any manifestations of departmentalism, parochialism, bureaucracy, and voluntarism.

In developing centralized principles in management and planning and the resolution of strategic tasks, the party will actively implement MEASURES TO INCREASE THE ROLE OF THE BASIC PRODUCTION COMPONENT--associations and enterprises--and consistently pursue the line of extending their rights and economic autonomy and stepping up their responsibility and interest in the attainment of high end results. The center of gravity of all day-to-day economic work should be on the spot--in the labor collectives.

The party deems it necessary to further develop and increase the effectiveness of FINANCIAL AUTONOMY and to ensure the consistent transition of enterprises and associations to full financial autonomy, strengthening the economic levers and reducing the number of indicators set by higher organizations. The activity of associations and enterprises will be governed increasingly by long-term economic normatives which offer scope for initiative and creativity on the part of labor collectives. Measures to improve management from above should be organically combined with the development of collective forms of labor organization and incentives from below. The system of levers and incentives should give real advantages to labor collectives which achieve success in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, produce better output, and increase the profitability of production. The opportunities and rights of associations and enterprises to dispose of the resources they earn for the purposes of developing production, providing material incentives for the collective, and resolving social questions will increase.

Wholesale trade will be extended, the role of direct ties and economic contracts between consumer enterprises and the manufacturers of output will be increased, and the consumer's influence on the technical standard and quality of output will be strengthened.

PRICING should be improved, so that prices more accurately reflect the level of socially necessary expenditure as well as the quality of products and services, more actively stimulate scientific and technical progress, resource-saving, the improvement of the technical, economic, and consumer properties of articles, and the introduction of everything that is new and advanced, and help to strengthen the thrift policy.

The CPSU sets the task of consistently implementing measures to improve the ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF MANAGEMENT of the national economy at all levels, reducing the management apparatus, and eliminating superfluous components. It

is necessary to improve the management of major national economic complexes and groups of interconnected and similar sectors, to seek the rational combination of large, medium, and small enterprises and of sector and territorial management, to extend the network and improve the work of production and science-and-production associations, to deepen specialization, and to develop integration and production sharing.

The attention of intersectorial and sectorial management organs will be concentrated on the most important avenues of the sectors' development and the introduction of scientific and technical achievements. They should bear the responsibility for the full satisfaction of the requirements of the national economy and the population for output in the range and product mix laid down. There will be an increase in the role and responsibility of republic and local organs in the management of economic and sociocultural building and the satisfaction of the working people's needs, and these organs' rights will be extended.

In all the work to improve leadership of the economy, the CPSU will consistently pursue a line of developing the WORKING PEOPLE'S CREATIVE INITIATIVE AND INVOLVING THEM INCREASINGLY FULLY IN THE PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT PROCESS and of increasing the labor collectives' role in the elaboration of plans, the adoption of economic decisions, and the implementation of measures relating to the socioeconomic development of enterprises and to seeking out and mobilizing internal production reserves. Thrift, the skillful expenditure of the people's resources, the rational use of every ruble, the eradication of waste, and the elimination of various nonproductive types of expenditure and losses--this is the cause of the whole party and the whole people, the cause of every labor collective and every worker.

The development of SOCIALIST COMPETITION is the subject of the party's constant attention. This is a most important sphere for the development of the working people's creativity and one of the basic means of self-assertion and social recognition for the individual. On the basis of Leninist principles, it is necessary to improve the organization and enhance the effectiveness of competition, eradicate formalism and stereotyped approaches, disseminate leading experience more widely, bring the laggards up to the frontrunners' level, and develop the spirit of initiative, comradely cooperation, and mutual assistance. Very great significance is attached to supporting in every way the masses' initiative and creativity aimed at accelerating scientific and technical progress, increasing labor productivity, ensuring the thrifty use of resources, enhancing production efficiency and output quality, reducing the prime cost of output, ensuring an efficient labor rhythm and the prompt fulfillment of contract commitments, and achieving the best national economic end results.

### III. THE PARTY'S SOCIAL POLICY

The party regards social policy as a powerful means of accelerating the country's development, boosting the masses' labor and sociopolitical activeness, molding the new person, and establishing the socialist way of life, and as an important factor in society's political stability. The party proceeds on the basis that its influence on economic growth, on increasing the

economy's efficiency, and on all spheres of public life will be strengthened. The CPSU regards unremitting concern for the resolution of the social questions of labor, everyday life, and culture and for the satisfaction of people's interests and needs as a law of the activity of all state and economic organs and public organizations.

The party advances as the MAIN TASKS OF ITS SOCIAL POLICY:

- Steadily improving Soviet people's living and working conditions;
- Implementing increasingly fully the principle of social justice in all fundamental spheres of social relations;
- Effecting the rapprochement of classes and social groups and strata and overcoming the substantial differences between mental and physical labor and city and countryside;
- Perfecting national relations and strengthening the fraternal friendship of all the country's nations and ethnic groups.

INCREASING THE PROSPERITY AND IMPROVING THE WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF SOVIET PEOPLE

The production and spiritual potential created in the country and the requirements of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development make possible an essential substantial progress toward achieving the "COMPLETE prosperity and free COMPREHENSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL MEMBERS OF SOCIETY" (LENIN).

The CPSU sets the task of raising Soviet people's prosperity to a qualitatively new level and ensuring a level and structure of consumption of material, social, and cultural benefits that will correspond to the greatest extent to the objectives of shaping a harmoniously developed and spiritually rich individual and creating the necessary conditions for the fullest revelation of the Soviet people's abilities, gifts, and talents in the interests of society.

Already in the next 5-year period it is planned to double the volume of resources aimed at satisfying the people's requirements.

THE PARTY ATTACHES PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE TO INTENSIFYING THE CREATIVE CONTENT AND COLLECTIVIST NATURE OF LABOR, RAISING ITS STANDARD [KULTURA], AND ENCOURAGING HIGHLY SKILLED AND HIGHLY PRODUCTIVE WORK FOR THE BENEFIT OF SOCIETY. All this will promote the gradual transformation of labor into a prime necessity of life for every Soviet person.

Another task which lies ahead is to continue to implement a package of scientific, technical, economic, and social measures ensuring full and effective employment for the population and enabling all able-bodied citizens to work in their chosen sphere of activity in accordance with their vocation, abilities, education, and professional training taking societal requirements into account.

The line aimed at considerably reducing manual labor, substantially reducing and, in the long term, eliminating monotonous, heavy physical and low-skilled labor, ensuring healthy sanitary and hygiene conditions, and introducing sophisticated safety equipment eliminating accidents at work and occupational diseases will be consistently pursued. The intensification and growth of the efficiency of production and the growth of labor productivity will open up new opportunities in the long term for shortening the working day and increasing the length of working people's paid leave.

THE PARTY WILL CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING NECESSARY TO STEADILY INCREASE WORKING PEOPLE'S REAL INCOMES AND FURTHER IMPROVE THE PROSPERITY OF ALL STRATA AND SOCIAL GROUPS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC POTENTIAL.

Labor remuneration remains the basic source of working people's income throughout the first phase of communism. It is necessary to constantly improve the wages system so that it takes fully into account the quantity and quality of labor and its conditions and results and promotes the growth of working people's skill and labor productivity, the improvement of output quality, and the saving of all types of resources. It is on precisely this basis that working people's wages and living standards must grow. The level of minimum wages will increase and the line aimed at reducing taxes on the population will be continued in line with the growth of public wealth. The party attaches fundamental significance to resolutely eradicating unearned income, any deviations from socialist principles of distribution, antisocial forms of redistributing incomes and benefits, parasitism, and speculation.

There will be a continuation of the accelerated growth and improvement of the distribution of SOCIAL CONSUMPTION FUNDS, which are called upon to play an increasing role in developing the statewide systems for free public education, health care, and social welfare and in improving working people's leisure conditions, to alleviate the differences in the material situation of individual citizens, families, and social groups that are objectively inevitable under socialism, to equalize socioeconomic and cultural conditions for raising children, and to promote the elimination of the lack of affluence [maloobespechenost] of individual groups of the population.

A task of priority importance is to FULLY SATISFY THE POPULATION'S GROWING DEMAND FOR HIGH-QUALITY AND DIVERSE CONSUMER GOODS--food products, good-quality and attractive clothing and footwear, furniture, cultural items, and complex household equipment and domestic appliances.

TRADE AND PUBLIC CATERING will be further developed. Their material and technical base will be strengthened and the standard of service will rise. The consumer cooperative system, which is called upon to improve trade in the countryside and organize the purchase from the population and marketing of agricultural products, will also be further developed. The kolkhoz market will retain its significance. A retail price policy will be pursued in the interests increasing the population's real incomes.

It is planned to implement major measures to create a MODERN HIGHLY-DEVELOPED SERVICES SPHERE. An increase in the volume, expansion of the range, and improvement in the quality of services will make it possible to satisfy more fully the population's growing requirements for diverse forms of housing, municipal, transport, consumer, social, and cultural services, alleviate housework, and create better conditions for relaxation, the meaningful use of free time, and full leisure. There will be accelerated development of the services here in rural localities and newly opened-up areas.

Accelerating the solution of the HOUSING PROBLEM so that practically every Soviet family has separate housing--an apartment or individual house--by the year 2000 is regarded by the party as a matter of particular social significance. The large scale of housing construction out of state funds, the broader development of cooperative and individual construction, and also the modernization, updating, and improvement of the condition of the housing stock and the intensification of monitoring of its distribution are called upon to promote this. Particular attention will be devoted to the quality of housing construction, the improvement of comfort levels, the improvement of layout, and the improvement of provision of equipment in apartments and houses.

Higher demands will be made of the architecture, aesthetic appearance, and amenity level of urban and rural settlements. They must constitute a rational integrated organization of production zones, residential areas, and a network of social, cultural, and educational establishments, sports facilities, trade and consumer service enterprises, and transportation ensuring the best conditions for people's labor, everyday life, and leisure. The practice of enlisting funds from the population to improve housing, cultural, and everyday life conditions, leisure, and tourism and for other purposes will be expanded.

The IMPROVEMENT OF SOVIET PEOPLE'S HEALTH and the lengthening of their active life is a matter of priority importance. The party sets the tasks of ubiquitously and fully satisfying the urban and rural inhabitants' requirements for all types of highly skilled medical services and radically improving the quality. To this end it is planned to introduce a system of universal medical checkups for the population; further develop the network of mother and child health protection institutions, health centers, hospitals, and sanatoriums, and equip them with modern medical apparatus; and ensure full provision of medical, treatment, and sanitary and hygiene resources.

The significance of PHYSICAL CULTURE AND SPORT AND THEIR INTRODUCTION INTO DAILY LIFE in improving the population's health, harmoniously developing the individual, and preparing young people for labor and the defense of the motherland is increasing. Matters must be organized in such a way that from his youth every person is concerned to improve himself physically, has a knowledge of the field of hygiene and medical assistance, and leads a healthy way of life.

The CPSU attaches tremendous state significance to INTENSIFYING CONCERN FOR THE FAMILY. The family is playing an increasingly important role in improving the health of and educating the rising generations, ensuring society's economic and social progress, and improving demographic processes. It is here that the fundamentals of a person's character and his attitude toward labor and toward the most important moral, ideological, and cultural values are shaped. Society has a vital interest in a solid and spiritually and morally healthy family. Proceeding from this, the party considers it essential to pursue a line aimed at strengthening the family and assisting it in fulfilling its social functions and rearing children and to expand the measures aimed at improving the material, housing, and everyday living conditions of families with many children as well as young families. It is necessary to deepen the interaction of family, school, and labor collective and to increase parents' responsibility for educating children.

THE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF THE POSITION OF MOTHERS is a subject of the party's constant concern. To this end favorable conditions will be created for combining motherhood with active participation by women in labor and social activity. Particular attention will be devoted to mother and child protection, and the length of antenatal leave and also child-care leave will be increased. The network of sanatoriums, rest homes and boardinghouses for family vacations will be expanded. Diverse forms of labor employment for women will be developed, and flexible working schedules and incomplete workdays will be applied on a broader scale in accordance with women's wishes.

A broad package of measures will be implemented to create the necessary conditions for rearing the rising generation. In the very near future the population's requirements for children's establishments will already be fully satisfied. The network of Young Pioneer, labor, and sports camps, Young Pioneer centers, and scientific, technical, and artistic creativity centers and stations will be expanded. Catering expenditure norms will be raised in preschool establishments and vocational and technical educational establishments.

The party stresses the need to considerably INTENSIFY THE ATTENTION DEVOTED TO YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIAL PROBLEMS and, first and foremost, to satisfy more fully their requirements in the sphere of labor and everyday life, education and culture, professional and vocational growth, and the rational use of free time.

The CPSU will continue to display constant CONCERN TO IMPROVE THE MATERIAL SITUATION OF LABOR AND WAR VETERANS, elderly people, invalids, and the families of deceased servicemen and to provide social, medical, and cultural services for them. Pensions, primarily minimum and previously designated pensions, will be raised periodically. Pension provision for kolkhoz members will gradually move closer to the level established for workers and employees. The network of residential homes for elderly and disabled people will be developed, and maintenance conditions in them will be improved. The broadening of opportunities for labor veterans with great experience to participate as far as they are able in labor activity and in public life and educational work is a matter of great socioeconomic importance.

The harmonious interaction of society and nature, man and the environment, is assuming increasing significance in the improvement of the people's life. Socialist society, which builds its future in a conscious manner, engages in plan-governed and solicitous use of nature and occupies vanguard positions in mankind's struggle to preserve and augment the world's natural resources. The party considers it necessary to intensify the monitoring of the use of nature and develop ecological education of the population on a broader scale.

#### **OVERCOMING CLASS DIFFERENCES, FORMING A SOCIALLY HOMOGENEOUS SOCIETY**

An important natural law of the development of social relations at the present stage is THE RAPPROCHEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS, KOLKHOZ PEASANTRY AND INTELLIGENTSIA AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CLASSLESS STRUCTURE FOR SOCIETY WITH THE DECISIVE ROLE IN THIS PROCESS BELONGING TO THE WORKING CLASS.

The political experience of the working class, its high degree of awareness and organization, and its will cement our entire society. The improvement of the general educational, cultural, and professional standard of the working class and the growth of its labor and sociopolitical activeness enhance its vanguard role in the improvement of socialism and in the entire process of communist building.

During the consistent implementation of the party's agrarian policy agricultural labor is transformed into a form of industrial labor and the substantial social and cultural and daily living differences between the city and the countryside are erased. The way of life and nature of the labor of the peasantry are becoming increasingly similar to the way of life and nature of the labor of the working class. The overcoming of differences between these classes and the assertion of a society without classes in our country will take place mainly within the historical framework of the first, socialist, phase of the communist formation.

The revolutionary transformations in productive forces are leading to an increase in the proportion of mental labor in the activity of the broadest masses of workers and kolkhoz members. At the same time the numerical strength of the intelligentsia is increasing and their creative contribution to material production and other spheres of social life is growing. All this is helping to gradually erase the substantial differences between physical and mental labor and bring all social groups closer. The complete overcoming of these differences and the formation of a socially homogeneous society will be completed at the highest phase of communism.

The CPSU will help by every means the overcoming of class and social differences. At the same time, as long as these differences exist, the party considers it a matter of paramount importance to take careful account in its policy of the special features of the interests of classes and social groups. Great attention will be paid to equalizing the working and daily living conditions of the population of different regions of the country.

In the social structure of Soviet society THERE IS AN INCREASE IN THE ROLE OF THE LABOR COLLECTIVES. The party is seeking to help to ensure by every means that every labor collective becomes an effective social cell of socialist

people's self-management, the working people's daily and real participation in the solution of questions of the work of their enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and the development and augmentation of the individual's creative forces. It considers it essential to purposefully intensify the labor collectives' influence on all spheres of the life of society and at the same time to raise their responsibility for the solution of specific tasks of economic, social, and cultural development.

#### FURTHER FLOWERING AND RAPPROCHEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST NATIONS AND ETHNIC GROUPS

In its activity the CPSU comprehensively considers Soviet society's multinational nature. The results of the path that has been traveled convincingly attest that THE NATIONALITIES QUESTION INHERITED FROM THE PAST HAS BEEN SUCCESSFULLY RESOLVED IN THE SOVIET UNION. National relations in Soviet society are characterized by the further flowering of nations and ethnic groups and their steady rapprochement, which is taking place on the basis of voluntariness, equality, and fraternal cooperation. Any artificial pushing or curbing of ripe objective trends of development is inadmissible here. This development entails, in the remote historical future, the complete unity of nations.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that in our multinational socialist state, in the process of the joint labor and life of over 100 nations and ethnic groups, NEW TASKS IN IMPROVING NATIONAL RELATIONS naturally arise. The party has resolved and will continue to resolve them on the basis of the tested principles of Lenin's nationalities policy. It sets the following basic tasks in this field:

-- The comprehensive consolidation and development of the multinational Soviet state. The CPSU will continue to strengthen our unified, union, multinational state, to struggle consistently against any manifestations of parochialism and national narrowness, and at the same time display constant concern for the further enhancement of the role of the republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs in resolving nationwide tasks and for the active participation of working people of all nationalities in the work of the organs of power and management. The forms of inter-nation [mezhnatsionalnye] relations will be enriched on the basis of the creative application of Lenin's principles of socialist federalism and democratic centralism in the interests of the entire Soviet people and of each nation and ethnic group;

-- The buildup of the material and spiritual potential of each republic within the framework of a unified national economic complex. The combination of the initiative of union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs with centralized management on an all-union scale makes it possible to make rational use of the resources of the entire country and local natural and other features. Its essential consistently to intensify the division of labor between republics, to equalize their conditions of economic management, to encourage republics' active participation in the economic development of new regions, to develop the interrepublican exchange of worker and specialist cadres, and to expand and improve the training of skilled workers from among the citizens of all nations and ethnic groups living in the republics;

-- The development of the Soviet people's single culture, socialist in content, diverse in its national forms, and internationalist in spirit, on the basis of the best achievements and unique progressive traditions of the USSR peoples. The growth and rapprochement of national cultures and the consolidation of their mutual links make their mutual enrichment even more fruitful and open up before Soviet people the broadest opportunities for access to everything of value generated by the talent of each of our country's peoples.

The free development of their native languages and their use on an equal basis by all citizens of the USSR will continue to be ensured. At the same time the mastering, alongside the language of their nationality, of the Russian language, which has been voluntarily adopted by Soviet people as the means of inter-nation communication, expands their access to the achievements of science, technology, and our own and world culture.

The party proceeds from the premise that the consistent pursuit of Lenin's nationalities policy and the all-around consolidation of the friendship of the peoples are a component of the improvement of socialism and a path, tested by social practice, toward the further flowering of our multinational socialist motherland.

#### IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET SOCIETY'S POLITICAL SYSTEM

The dictatorship of the proletariat established as a result of the socialist revolution played a decisive role in the creation of the new society. During this process it itself underwent changes. With the elimination of the exploiter classes the function it had fulfilled of suppressing the resistance of the overthrown exploiters gradually disappeared and the implementation of its main, creative tasks developed with full force. Having fulfilled its historical mission, the dictatorship of the proletariat developed into a political organization of all the working people and the proletarian state developed into a state of the whole people. This is the main instrument for the improvement of socialism in our country, and in the international arena it performs the functions of defending socialist gains, consolidating world socialism's positions, opposing the aggressive policy of imperialist forces, and developing peaceful cooperation with all peoples.

THE CPSU BELIEVES THAT AT THE PRESENT STAGE THE STRATEGIC LINE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY'S POLITICAL SYSTEM LIES IN IMPROVING SOVIET DEMOCRACY AND INCREASINGLY FULLY IMPLEMENTING SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S SELF-MANAGEMENT VIA THE DAILY, ACTIVE, AND EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION OF WORKING PEOPLE, THEIR COLLECTIVES, AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS IN RESOLVING QUESTIONS OF STATE AND SOCIAL LIFE.

The leading force in this process is the party--the nucleus of Soviet society's political system. All other components of this system--the Soviet state, the trade unions, the Komsomol, and the cooperative and other social organizations reflecting the unity and distinctive identity of the interests of all strata of the population and all the country's nations and nationalities--function under its leadership. Operating within the framework

of the constitution, the CPSU directs and coordinates the work of state and social organizations and is concerned to ensure that each of them fully performs its distinctive functions. By all its activity the party sets an example of service to the people's interests and observance of the principles of socialist democratism.

The party is concerned to ensure that the principles of socialist people's self-management are consistently implemented in the management of society and the state, that is, to ensure that management not only is implemented in the working people's interests but also in a law-governed fashion, step by step, becomes the direct concern of the working people themselves, who, in Lenin's words, are conscious of no power over themselves except the power of their own association.

The party will continue to contribute to ensuring that citizens' socioeconomic, political, and personal rights and freedoms are expanded and enriched and that increasingly favorable conditions for and guarantees of their full implementation are created. Soviet people possess every opportunity to express and implement their civic will and interests and enjoy all the benefits that socialism gives them. Soviet citizens' exercise of their rights and freedoms is inseparable from their execution of their constitutional duties. There are no rights without duties and no duties without rights--that is the immutable political principle of socialist society. The CPSU will continue to seek persistently to ensure that every Soviet person is educated in the spirit of a clear understanding of the unity of his rights, freedoms, and duties.

The key question of the party's policy is THE DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF THE SOVIET SOCIALIST STATE and the increasingly full revelation of its democratic, all-people's character.

The CPSU shows constant concern for comprehensively improving the activity of the soviets of people's deputies--the political foundation of the USSR and the main component in socialist people's self-management. The party attaches great importance to improving forms of popular representation and the democratic principles of the Soviet electoral system and to ensuring the free and comprehensive discussion of candidate deputies' personal and professional qualities so that the worthiest and most authoritative people are elected to the soviets. In order to improve the work of the soviets and produce an influx of new forces into them, and in order to ensure that further millions of working people pass through the school of state management, the composition of soviet deputies will be systematically renewed in elections.

The CPSU seeks to contribute to ensuring that the USSR Supreme Soviet and the union republic supreme soviets consistently improve legislation and efficiently solve key problems of domestic and foreign policy, actively lead the soviets of people's deputies, and check the work of the organs accountable to them. The role of local soviets in ensuring the comprehensive economic and social development of regions, in independently resolving tasks of local importance, and in coordinating and monitoring the activity of the organizations located on their territory will continue to increase.

It is necessary to create all the conditions for ensuring that Lenin's directions regarding the soviets as organs that not only make decisions but also ensure the organization and verification of their execution are rigorously observed. Democratic work principles must be increasingly fully implemented in the activity of soviets of all levels: the collective, free, and businesslike discussion and resolution of questions; publicity; self-criticism and criticism; regular reporting and the responsibility of deputies, up to and including the early recall of those who have not vindicated voters' trust; monitoring of the work of executive and other organs; the widespread involvement of citizens in participation in management.

The party will unswervingly pursue the line of DEMOCRATIZING MANAGEMENT AND THE PROCESS OF FORMULATING AND ADOPTING STATE DECISIONS, a line which ensures that the optimum versions of them are chosen and that the various opinions and proposals submitted by meetings of labor collectives and also of citizens at their place of residence are taken into account and collated. The most important bills and decisions will be referred to nationwide discussion and voting. The range of questions on which decisions can be made only after discussion in labor collectives, in soviet standing commission, and in trade union, Komsomol, and other social organizations will be expanded. The system for the generalization and implementation of voters' instructions and citizens' statements and proposals and for the study of public opinion must be further improved and the population's level of information regarding decisions and the results of their implementation must be increased.

The CPSU attaches great importance to improving the work of the state apparatus and all management organs. The Soviet apparatus serves the people and is accountable to the people. It must be well qualified and efficient. It is necessary to seek to simplify and reduce the cost of the management apparatus and to eliminate overstaffing, persistently eradicate displays of bureaucratism and formalism, departmentalism, and parochialism, and to get rid of incompetent and unenterprising personnel without delay. Unscrupulousness, the abuse of official position, careerism, the desire for personal enrichment, nepotism, and protectionism must be resolutely suppressed and sternly punished.

The party believes that it is necessary to strictly observe the principle of the accountability of the personnel of state organs and to expand, where expedient, the elective and competitive systems of filling posts. Collegiality must be consistently implemented in the work of the relevant components of the state apparatus along with the personal responsibility of each leader, and the objective assessment of personnel on the basis of their practical actions and the effective monitoring of the actual fulfillment of decisions must be ensured.

The CPSU will actively help to increase the effectiveness of PEOPLE'S CONTROL. IT REGARDS WORKING PEOPLE'S WORK IN PEOPLE'S control organs as an important way of developing their political maturity and activeness in defending the people's interests and of installing a state approach toward matters and a thrifty attitude toward the people's property.

THE STRENGTHENING OF THE LEGAL BASIS OF STATE AND SOCIAL LIFE, the unswerving observance of socialist legality and law and order, and the improvement of the work of the people's courts and other organs of justice, of supervision by the prosecutor's office, and of justice and the militia have been and remain a matter of constant concern for the party. State organs must do everything necessary to ensure the safekeeping of socialist property and the protection of citizens' personal property, honor, and dignity, conduct a resolute struggle against crime, prevent any offenses, and eliminate the reasons giving rise to them.

THE CPSU REGARD THE DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIST HOMELAND, THE STRENGTHENING OF THE COUNTRY'S DEFENSE, AND THE SAFEGUARDING OF STATE SECURITY AS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS OF THE SOVIET STATE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE.

From the viewpoint of internal conditions our society does not need an army. However, as long as the danger that imperialism will unleash aggression, military conflicts, and various kinds of provocations exists it is necessary to pay unremitting attention to reinforcing the USSR's defense might and strengthening its security. The Armed Forces and state security organs must display great vigilance and be always ready to suppress imperialism's intrigues against the USSR and its allies and to rout any aggressor.

The ultimate foundation of the strengthening of the defense of the socialist motherland is the Communist Party's leadership of military building and the Armed Forces. Policy in the sphere of defense and the country's security and Soviet military doctrine, which is purely defensive in nature and is directed toward defense against external attack, are formulated and implemented with the party playing a leading role.

The CPSU will make every effort to ensure that the USSR Armed Forces are at a level excluding strategic superiority on the part of imperialism's forces, that the Soviet state's defense capability is comprehensively improved, and that the combat collaboration of the fraternal socialist countries' armies is strengthened.

The CPSU will continue to show invariable concern for ensuring that the Soviet Armed Forces' combat potential constitutes a strong fusion of military skill, ideological staunchness, organization and discipline on the part of personnel, their loyalty to their patriotic and international duty, and a high level of technical equipment.

The CPSU deems it necessary to continue to strengthen its organizing and directing influence on the life and activity of the Armed Forces, to strengthen the principle of one-man command, to enhance the role and influence of Army and Navy political organs and party organizations, and to seek to ensure that the intimate [krovnyy] link between the Army and the people becomes still stronger. Every Communist and every Soviet person must do all in his power to maintain the country's defense capability at the due level. THE DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIST HOMELAND AND SERVICE IN THE RANKS OF THE ARMED FORCES ARE THE USSR CITIZEN'S HONORABLE OBLIGATION AND SACRED DUTY.

The party attaches prime importance to enhancing the role of social organizations--important components in the system of socialist people's self-management.

The CPSU sets it as its task to promote the constant growth of the prestige and influence of TRADE UNIONS--the most mass working people's organization, a school of management, a school of economic management, and a school of communism. The trade unions are called upon to consistently fulfill their main functions: contributing in every possible way to augmenting the people's wealth and to improving people's working, daily living, and leisure conditions, defending working people's rights and interests, constantly engaging the communist education of the masses, involving them in the management of production and social affairs, and strengthening conscious labor discipline.

Trade union organizations must take a more active part in developing socialist people's self-management and in resolving fundamental questions of state, economic, and cultural building, cooperate more closely with the soviets and other working people's organizations, raise the standard of socialist competition and of the propaganda and introduction of advanced experience, develop public forms of monitoring the observance of the principles of social justice, and help implement the powers of labor collectives.

The CPSU rightly regards the ALL-UNION LENIN KOMSOMOL—a sociopolitical organization with many millions of members—as its loyal assistant and reliable reserve. The party will continue to increase the Komsomol's role in educating the rising generation and in practically resolving the tasks of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. In implementing leadership of the Komsomol, the CPSU pays particular attention to the organizational and political strengthening of its ranks and of the independent [samodeyatelnyy] nature of the youth league. The Komsomol must persistently develop the labor and social activism of young men and women and mold in them a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, political and moral standards, and an awareness of their historic responsibility for the fate of socialism and peace.

The party seeks to improve the activity of COOPERATIVES—kolkhozes and consumer cooperatives, housebuilding cooperatives, and cooperative organizations and associations—regarding them as an important form of socialist self-management and an effective means of developing the national economy.

The CPSU will help to further boost the activism of CREATVIE UNIONS, SCIENTIFIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL, CULTURAL ENLIGHTENMENT, SPORTS, DEFENSE, AND OTHER VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES, AND ORGANS OF THE POPULATION'S SOCIAL AMATEUR ACTIVITY. In performing their functions, these organizations are called upon to make an increasingly great contribution to implementing the party's policy and to show concern for comprehensively expressing and implementing the interests of the working people they unite and for strengthening Soviet people's civic initiative and responsibility.

## V. IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION WORK, EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND CULTURE

The party will do everything necessary in order to make full use of the transforming power of Marxist-Leninist ideology for the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the country and to perform purposeful work on the ideological-political, labor, and moral education of Soviet people and ON SHAPING A HARMONIOUSLY DEVELOPED, SOCIALLY ACTIVE PERSONALITY COMBINING WITHIN ITSELF SPIRITUAL RICHNESS, MORAL PURITY, AND PHYSICAL PERFECTION. In ideological work, the CPSU considers the chief element to be the nurturing of the working people in a spirit of high moral fiber and devotion to communism, Soviet patriotism and proletarian, socialist internationalism, a conscious attitude toward labor and public property, giving them increasingly full access to the treasures of spiritual culture, and the eradication of morals that are at variance with the socialist way of life.

The party proceeds from the premise that the education of man is inseparable from his practical participation in creative labor for the benefit of the people, in social life, and in the solution of tasks of socioeconomic and cultural building. Separation from reality and from its real problems dooms ideological education work to abstract pedantry [prosvetitelstvo] and vague waffling and leads away from the vital tasks of building communism. Ideological activity must be marked by profundity of ideological-theoretical content and by informativeness on a broad scale, it must fully and precisely take into account the realities of domestic and international life and the heightened requirements of the working people, and it must be close to people, truthful and comprehensible.

Unity of word and deed, the most important principle of all party and state activity, also acts as an indispensable requirement as regards political education work. Active participation in it is an obligation for all leading cadres and the duty of every communist.

The party puts forward the following tasks:

### 1. IN THE SPHERE OF IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION WORK

THE FORMATION OF A SCIENTIFIC WORLD OUTLOOK. Socialism has ensured the domination in the spiritual life of Soviet society of a scientific world outlook whose foundation is Marxism-Leninism as an integral and harmonious system of philosophical, economic, and sociopolitical views. The party considers its most important obligation to be the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of the study and generalization of new phenomena in the life of Soviet society, consideration of the experience of the other countries of the socialist community, and of the world communist, workers, national liberation, and democratic movement, and analysis of the achievements of the natural and social sciences.

The CPSU will take constant pains to ensure that all Soviet people have a profound mastery of Marxist-Leninist teaching, enhance their political standards [kultura], and consciously participate in drawing up the party's policy and actively translate it into reality.

**LABOR EDUCATION.** The party places at the focus of educational work the shaping in each Soviet person of a profound respect and readiness for conscientious labor for the common good, be it mental or physical labor. Labor is the basic source of the material and spiritual wealth of society, the main criterion of a person's social prestige, his sacred obligation, and the foundation of the communist education of the individual. The party will continue to take pains over the all-around enhancement of the prestige of honest, highly productive labor, over the development of initiative and creativity in work, and over the consolidation of the principles of a communist attitude toward labor.

**THE FIRM ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNIST MORALITY.** The creative potential of communist morality--the most humane, just, and noble morality based on loyalty to the goals of the revolutionary struggle and the ideals of communism--is revealed increasingly fully under the conditions of the gradual advance toward communism. Our morality has absorbed both simple, universal human moral values and the norms of people's behavior and relationships generated by the peoples' masses in the many centuries of struggle against exploitation and for freedom and social equality, happiness and peace.

Communist morality, for whose assertion the CPSU is acting, is:

-- A COLLECTIVIST MORALITY. "One for all and all for one"--that is its basic principle. It is incompatible with egotism, selfishness, and conceit and it harmoniously combines nationwide, collective, and personal interests;

-- A HUMANITARIAN MORALITY. It ennobles the working man, is pervaded with profound respect for him, and will not tolerate encroachments on his dignity. It asserts truly human relations between people, relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid, benevolence, honesty, simplicity, and modesty in personal and public life;

-- AN ACTIVE, EFFECTIVE MORALITY. It prompts man to undertake new labor and creative achievements, to take an interested part in the life of the collective and of the entire country, to actively reject everything which contradicts the socialist way of life, and to struggle persistently for communist ideals.

**PATRIOTIC AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION.** The party will continue to work tirelessly to ensure that in Soviet man love for the motherland of October and for the land where he was born and grew up and pride in the historic achievements of the world's first socialist state are combined with proletarian, socialist internationalism and with a sense of class solidarity with the working people of the fraternal countries and with all those who are struggling against imperialism and for socialist progress and peace.

The CPSU will persistently seek to ensure that the feelings of friendship and fraternity which unite all nations and nationalities of the USSR, a high standard of inter-nation communication, and intolerance toward manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, national narrowness and egotism, and customs and morals which impede the communist renewal of life and man are inherent in every Soviet person.

An important task of the party's ideological education work is military-patriotic education, the formation of readiness to defend the socialist fatherland to give it all one's efforts and, if necessary, one's life too.

**ATHEIST EDUCATION.** While advocating the unconditional observance of constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience, the party denounces attempts to use religion to the detriment of the interests of society and the individual. The correct path for overcoming religious prejudices is people's enhanced labor and public activeness, their enlightenment, and the creation and widespread dissemination of new Soviet rituals.

An important component of communist education work is THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MANIFESTATIONS OF ALIEN IDEOLOGY AND MORALITY AND ALL NEGATIVE PHENOMENA connected with vestiges of the past in people's awareness and behavior, with shortcomings in practical work in various spheres of public life, and with delay in resolving urgent problems. The party attaches paramount importance to the consistent and persistent eradication of violations of labor discipline, embezzlement and bribery, speculation and parasitism, drunkenness and hooliganism, a private ownership mentality and money-grubbing, toadying, and servility. It is essential to make full use of the authority of public opinion and the force of the law for this purpose. A good example in public and private life and the execution of one's civil duty is of tremendous educational importance.

**THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY.** The very acute struggle between the two world outlooks in the international arena reflects the opposition between the two world systems—socialism and capitalism. The CPSU sees its task as being to bring the peoples the truth about real socialism and the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy, actively propagandize the Soviet way of life, and reveal in a thrusting, well-reasoned way the antipopular, inhuman nature of imperialism and its exploiting essence. It will form in Soviet people high political awareness and the ability to assess social phenomena from clear-cut class-based positions and to defend the ideals and spiritual values of socialist society.

The role of THE MASS INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA MEDIA is being enhanced in the life of society. The CPSU will seek to ensure that they analyze in depth domestic and international life and economic and social phenomena, actively support everything new and progressive, raise the topical problems which perturb people, and propose ways of solving them. The press, television, and radio are called on to persuade people through the political clarity and purposefulness, depth of content, promptness, fully informed nature, vividness, and comprehensibility of their items. The party will continue to render active support and assistance to the press and all mass information and propaganda media.

Special attention will be paid to the development of television, the comprehensive expansion of radio and television program coverage for the population, and the improvement of the content, ideological and artistic standard, and appeal of programs,

In mass political and propaganda work it is essential resolutely to eradicate manifestations of empty verbosity, formalism, and primitivism. All its forms and means must help to mobilize the masses' creative energy for the fulfillment of the tasks facing the country, ensuring the broad publicity of the work of party and state organs and public organizations, the directness and frankness of communication with people, the correct formation of public opinion, and the growth of its impact on practical deeds. The CPSU will be constantly concerned for the consolidation of the material base of ideological work.

## 2. IN THE SPHERE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

The party consistently pursues a line of educating and training conscious, highly educated people capable of both physical and mental labor and energetic activity in the national economy, in various spheres of public and state life, and in the sphere of science and culture. The education system created in the USSR, which is truly of the people, has ensured that all citizens have access to knowledge and made it possible in a historically short space of time to eliminate mass illiteracy and go over to universal secondary education.

THE CPSU WILL CONTINUE TO IMPROVE THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN LIGHT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE ACCELERATION OF SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE PROSPECTS OF BUILDING COMMUNISM, AND THE DEMANDS MADE BY PROGRESS IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. The reform of general and vocational educational schools which is being implemented in the country is based on the creative development of the Leninist principles of an integrated polytechnical labor education system and is aimed at raising still higher the standard of young people's education and upbringing, improving their preparation for an independent working life, and effecting a gradual transition to universal vocational education. The education system is called upon to inculcate in students a sense of love for the motherland and respect for their elders, parents, and teachers, to educate them in a spirit of high responsibility for the quality of study and labor and for their own behavior, and to develop student self-management [uchenicheskoye samoupravleniye]. In the course of implementing the measures planned, the further development and rapprochement and, in the long term, the merging of vocational and general education will take place.

In accordance with the requirements of scientific, technical, and social progress, the system of secondary specialized and higher education will be further developed. It should react sensitively and promptly to the needs of production, science, and culture and supply the national economy's requirements for specialists who combine a high level of vocational training, ideological and political maturity, and the habits of organizational and management activity. The party attaches great significance to the development of the system of improving skills, which alongside correspondence and evening teaching will create favorable opportunities for all working people to continue their education and constantly widen and renew their knowledge, and for the constant growth of their overall culture and professional standard.

The party will display tireless concern for pedagogical cadres and for strengthening and developing the material base of the entire education system.

### 3. IN THE SPHERE OF SCIENCE

Science plays an ever-increasing role in the development of productive forces and the improvement of social relations, the creation of fundamentally new types of technology and techniques, the improvement of labor productivity, the exploitation of the resources of the earth, the oceans, and space, and the conservation and improvement of the environment.

THE PARTY'S POLICY IN THE SPHERE OF SCIENCE IS AIMED AT CREATING FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR DYNAMIC PROGRESS IN ALL SECTORS OF KNOWLEDGE AND AT CONCENTRATING CADRES AND MATERIAL AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES IN THE MOST PROMISING AVENUES INTENDED TO ACCELERATE THE ATTAINMENT OF THE PLANNED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL GOALS AND SOCIETY'S SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT AND TO ENSURE THE COUNTRY'S RELIABLE DEFENSE CAPABILITY.

The dialectical materialist methodology was and is a principled, tried and tested basis for natural science and social knowledge. It must continue to be developed creatively and applied skillfully in research work.

Soviet science is called upon to hold leading positions in the basic avenues of scientific and technical progress and to find effective, timely solutions for long-term and current production and socioeconomic problems. It is important to ensure the preferential development of basic and fundamental research and to seek the speediest implementation of scientific ideas in the national economy and other spheres of human activity. Organizational and economic forms of integration of science and production and management of scientific and technical progress should be constantly improved, topical applied research and experimental and design studies should be extended, and their effectiveness in terms of results should be increased. Collaboration among academic, VUZ, and sector science must be consistently strengthened.

The attention of social scientists should be concentrated on the study and all-around analysis of the experience of world development, the creation of the new society in the USSR and the other socialist countries, the dialectics of productive forces and production relations, the material and spiritual spheres in the conditions of socialism, the laws governing the development of communist formation, and the ways and means of gradual progress toward its highest phase. The scientific analysis of the objective contradictions of socialist society, the elaboration of well-substantiated recommendations for resolving them, and reliable economic and social forecasts--that is the urgent task of the social sciences at the present stage of development.

The processes taking place in the communist, workers, and national liberation movements and in capitalist society need to be studied in depth. The course of world development raises many questions of a global scale for mankind. Scientific thought should give the correct answers to these questions. The struggle against bourgeois and reformist ideology, revisionism, and dogmatism was and is an important task for social science.

The party supports the bold quest, the rivalry of ideas and avenues in science, and fruitful debates and discussion. Both scholastic arguments and

the practice of passively recording facts while shunning bold theoretical generalizations, jumping on bandwagons [konyunkturshchina], and dissociation from reality are contraindicated for science. The complex, interconnected nature of present-day problems requires a deepening of the integration of social, natural, and technical sciences. There should be wider development of those forms of organization of science which ensure the interdisciplinary study of topical problems, the necessary maneuverability of scientific cadres, and the flexibility of the structure of scientific institutions, research, and development. It is necessary to increase their role in the formation and implementation of economic and social development plans. An essential condition for sciences' progress is the constant influx of fresh forces, including forces from the production sphere, the skillful utilization of scientists' creative potential, and the provision of incentives for their labor depending on their real contribution to the study of theoretical and applied problems.

#### 4. IN THE SPHERE OF CULTURAL BUILDING, LITERATURE, AND ART

The creation of a multinational Soviet culture which is truly of the people and has won international recognition is a historic achievement for our system. The source of that culture's mighty influence lies in fidelity to the truth of life and to the ideals of socialism and communism, profound humanism and optimism, and close links with the people.

THE CPSU ATTACHES GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TO THE FULLER, MORE PROFOUND ASSIMILATION BY THE WORKING PEOPLE'S MASSES OF THE RICHES OF SPIRITUAL AND MATERIAL CULTURE AND ACTIVE ACCESS TO ARTISTIC CREATIVITY FOR THEM. Guided consistently by the Leninist principles of cultural building, the party will display concern for the aesthetic education of the working people and rising generations in the best examples of our country's and the world's artistic culture. The aesthetic principle will still further animate labor, elevate man, and embellish his life.

The sphere of culture is called upon to satisfy the growing needs of various categories of the population, ensure the necessary conditions for amateur artistic creativity by the people, develop abilities, enrich the socialist way of life, and mold sound requirements and high aesthetic tastes. In the party's view, an essential condition of the successful resolution of these tasks is the constant improvement of the content and methods of cultural enlightenment work and the strengthening of its material base and intensive cultural building in the countryside and in regions being newly opened up.

THE PARTY WILL HELP IN EVERY WAY TO INCREASE THE ROLE OF LITERATURE AND ART. They are called upon to serve the people's interests and the cause of communism as a source of joy and inspiration for millions of people, to express their will, feelings, and thought, and to actively help their ideological enrichment and moral education.

The main line in the development of literature and art is the strengthening of ties with the people's life, the truthful representation to a high artistic standard of socialist reality, the inspired, vivid revelation of what is new

and advanced, and the impassioned unmasking of all that hinders society's forward movement.

The art of socialist realism is founded on the principles of popular spirit and party-mindedness. It combines bold innovation in the truthful artistic reproduction of life with the utilization and development of all the progressive traditions of the culture of our country and the world. Personalities in literature and art have broad scope for really free creativity, or improving their skill, and for further developing diverse realistic forms, styles, and genres. As the people's cultural level rises, the influence of art on society's life and its moral and psychological climate is stepped up. This increases the responsibility of the masters of culture for the ideological thrust of creative work and the artistic force of their works' influence.

The CPSU has a solicitous, respectful attitude toward talent and the artistic quest. At the same time it has always struggled and will continue to struggle, with the help of creative unions, public opinion, and Marxist-Leninist artistic criticism, against manifestations of lack of ideological content, philosophical eclecticism, aesthetic aridity, and hackwork.

Soviet culture promotes mutual understanding and rapprochement between peoples and participates actively in the struggle against imperialism, reaction, and war. Embodying the ideological wealth and diversity of the socialist society's spiritual life and its real humanism, it enriches world culture and reveals itself increasingly fully as a mighty factor for mankind's spiritual progress and a prototype for the future culture of communism.

### PARTY THREE. THE CPSU'S TASKS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA AND IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The CPSU's international policy stems from the humane nature of the socialist society, which is free from exploitation and oppression and has no classes or social groups with an interest in unleashing wars. It is indissolubly linked with the party's vital, strategic tasks inside the country and expresses the Soviet people's one desire--to engage in creative labor and live in peace with all peoples.

#### THE MAIN AIMS AND AVENUES OF THE CPSU'S INTERNATIONAL POLICY:

-- to ensure favorable external conditions for the improvement of the socialist society and for the advance toward communism in the USSR; to eliminate the threat of world war and achieve universal security and disarmament;

-- to steadily extend and deepen the USSR's cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and promote in every way the strengthening and progress of the world system of socialism;

-- to develop equal, friendly relations with the countries which have gained liberation;

- to maintain and develop the USSR's relations with capitalist states on the basis of peaceful coexistence and businesslike, mutually advantageous cooperation;

-- international solidarity with communist and revolutionary democratic parties, the international workers' movement, and the people's national liberation struggle.

The CPSU's approach to foreign policy problems combines the firm defense of the Soviet people's interests and resolute opposition to imperialism's aggressive policy with readiness for dialogue and the constructive resolution of international questions by means of talks.

The peace-loving foreign policy course which has been elaborated by the party and is consistently implemented by the Soviet state, combined with the strengthening of the country's defense capability, has secured for the Soviet people and for most of the world's population the longest period of peaceful life in the 20th century. The CPSU will continue to do everything in its power to preserve peaceful conditions for Soviet people's creative labor, to improve international relations, to end the arms race which has swept through the world, and to avert the threat of nuclear war which hangs over the peoples.

To defend and consolidate peace, to curb the forces of aggression and militarism for the sake of the life of the present and future generations--there is no higher, more responsible mission. A WORLD WITHOUT WARS, WITHOUT WEAPONS--THAT IS THE IDEAL OF SOCIALISM.

## I. COOPERATION WITH THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

The CPSU attaches priority significance to the further development and strengthening of friendly ties between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

THE PARTY SEEKS LASTING, COMRADELY RELATIONS AND MULTIFACETED COOPERATION BETWEEN THE USSR AND ALL THE STATES OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM. It proceeds on the basis that the socialist countries' cohesion accords with the interests of each one of them and with their common interests and serves the cause of peace and the triumph of socialist ideals.

It is a subject of special concern to the CPSU to strengthen friendship in every way and to develop and improve the ties between the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries.

The motive force in their all-around cooperation is the ruling communist and workers parties. With a view to strengthening the cohesion of the Communists in the fraternal countries and mutually enriching the practice of leadership of society, the CPSU will continue to promote the widening of interparty ties embracing all levels of the parties--from central committees to primary party organizations; and to promote the exchange of opinions and experience on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis.

The CPSU will continue the line of strengthening interstate relations between the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and enshrining them in treaty form, developing contacts between legislative organs and public organizations, and further activating all forms of political cooperation.

Soviet Communists advocate increasingly effective collaboration among the fraternal countries in the international arena, taking account of the situation and interests of each of them and the common interests of the community.

In conditions where the NATO imperialist military bloc exists, the party deems it necessary to promote in every way the improvement of the activity of the Warsaw Pact as an instrument of collective defense against imperialism's aggressive aspirations and the joint struggle for lasting peace and the widening of international cooperation.

In the sphere of mutual economic relations, the CPSU advocates the further deepening of socialist economic integration as the material basis for rallying the socialist countries. It deems it particularly important to consistently pool the fraternal countries' efforts in the key avenues of intensification of production and acceleration of scientific and technical progress and for the joint resolution of a task of historic significance--that of attaining leading positions in science and technology with a view to the further growth of their peoples' prosperity and the strengthening of their security.

The party proceeds on the basis that integration is called upon to promote to an increasing extent the progress of social production and the socialist way of life in the community countries, the acceleration of the process of equalization of their levels of economic development, and the strengthening of socialism's positions in the world.

The CPSU will participate actively in the fraternal parties' joint work to coordinate economic policy, improve the machinery of economic collaboration, seek new forms of such collaboration, deepen specialization and production sharing, coordinate plans, exchange leading experience, and establish direct ties between associations and enterprises. It will promote the enhancement of CEMA's role and the expansion of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation on the basis of bilateral and multilateral programs.

While regarding equal and mutually advantageous economic cooperation between socialist and capitalist states as natural and useful, at the same time the party proceeds on the basis that the development of socialist integration should strengthen the community's technical and economic invulnerability to hostile acts by imperialism and to the influence of economic crises and other negative processes inherent in capitalism.

In the sphere of ideology the CPSU advocates the pooling of the fraternal parties' efforts aimed at the study and utilization of the experience of socialist building and the communist education of working people and at developing Marxist-Leninist theory while deepening its creative nature and upholding its revolutionary essence. The activation of collective thought and the constant expansion of the exchange of spiritual assets and cooperation in

the sphere of science and culture to further deepen the friendship among the socialist countries.

The party will continue to promote the strengthening of consciousness of the unity and commonality of the historic destinies of the fraternal peoples. Disseminating the truth about socialism, exposing imperialist policy and propaganda, rebuffing anticomunism and anti-Sovietism, and struggling against dogmatic and revisionist views--all these tasks are resolved more successfully when communists act in a united front.

THE CPSU CONSIDERS IT ITS INTERNATIONAL DUTY TOGETHER WITH THE OTHER FRATERNAL PARTIES TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITY AND INCREASE THE MIGHT AND INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. The course of socialism's competition with capitalism and the future of world civilization depend to an enormous extent on the socialist community's stability, the successes of each country's creative activity, and the purposefulness and coordinated nature of their actions.

The experience of the development of the world socialist system attests that the socialist system creates every possibility both for society's confident progress and for harmonious mutual relations among countries. But neither one nor the other arrives spontaneously.

The levels of countries' economic and political development, their historical and cultural traditions, and the conditions in which they find themselves are not identical. The socialist countries' social development does not always go in a straight line. Each major stage of this development puts forward complex new tasks whose resolution is linked with a struggle and quests and with overcoming contradictions and difficulties.

All this, the CPSU is convinced, requires the greatest attention and comprehensive cooperation in order to ensure that grounds for disagreements capable of damaging common interests are not created. The coordination of actions on fundamental questions, comradely interest in each other's successes, the precise fulfillment of adopted pledges, and the profound understanding of both national and common, international interests in their organic interrelationship are of particular importance.

The formation and development of the new society is taking place in a situation of acute confrontation between the two world systems. In order to weaken socialism's positions and disrupt the reciprocal ties among the socialist states--first and foremost the links with the Soviet Union--imperialism employs a whole system of differentiated political, economic, and ideological measures, tries to speculate on problems that arise, and resorts to the utilization of nationalist sentiments for subversive ends. The CPSU proceeds on the basis that under these conditions the socialist countries' firm unity and class solidarity is of particularly great importance.

The experience of the CPSU and all world socialism attests that the most important factors of its successful onward movement are the loyalty of ruling communist and workers parties to the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the creative application of that teaching, the parties' firm links with the broad masses of working people, the strengthening of their prestige and leading role in

society, the strict observance of Leninist norms of party and state life, and the development of socialist people's power; sober consideration of the real situation and the timely and scientifically substantiated resolution of problems that arise; and the building [postroyeniye] of relations with the other fraternal countries on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism.

Whatever the particular features of each socialist country--its economic level, size, and historical and national traditions--they all have the same class interests. What unites and rallies the socialist countries is the main factor and is immeasurably greater than what may divide them.

The CPSU is convinced that, given full observance of equal rights and mutual respect for national interests, the socialist countries will travel the road of increasingly great mutual understanding and rapprochement. The party will promote this historically progressive process.

## II. STRENGTHENING RELATIONS WITH THE LIBERATED COUNTRIES

In defining policy toward former colonial and semicolonial countries, the CPSU proceeds on the basis that the entry of formerly enslaved peoples on the path of independence, the emergence of dozens of new states, and the raising of their relative weight in world politics and economics are one of the distinguishing features of the modern era.

The liberated peoples, as Lenin foresaw, are faced with playing a great role in the fate of all mankind. THE CPSU ADVOCATES THAT THESE PEOPLES' MOUNTING INFLUENCE INCREASINGLY PROMOTE THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

The CPSU consistently pursues the line of expanding friendly ties between the Soviet Union and the liberated countries and has profound sympathy for the aspirations of peoples who have experienced the heavy and demeaning yoke of colonial servitude. The Soviet Union builds its relations with these countries on the basis of strict respect for their independence and equal rights and supports their struggle against imperialism's neocolonialist policy, against vestiges of colonialism, and for peace and universal security.

The party attaches great importance to solidarity and political and economic cooperation with SOCIALIST-ORIENTED COUNTRIES. Mainly through their own efforts every people create the material and technical base needed for building [postroyeniye] the new society and strive to increase the masses' prosperity and culture. To the extent of its abilities the Soviet Union has given and will continue to give peoples traveling this route aid in their economic and cultural building, in training national cadres, in increasing defense capability, and in other spheres.

The CPSU is deepening relations with the liberated countries' REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. PARTICULARLY CLOSE COOPERATION has taken shape with those of them striving to build their activity on the basis of scientific socialism. The CPSU favors the development of ties with all national progressive parties occupying anti-imperialist and patriotic stances.

The practice of the USSR's relations with the liberated countries has shown that real grounds also exist for cooperation with young states which are traveling the capitalist road. There is the interest in maintaining peace, strengthening international security, and ending the arms race; there is the sharpening contradiction between the peoples' interests and the imperialist policy of diktat and expansion; and there is the young states' realization of the fact that political and economic ties with the Soviet Union promote the strengthening of their independence.

However the liberated countries differ and whatever paths they travel, their peoples are united by the desire to develop independently and resolve their own affairs themselves and without foreign interference. The Soviet Union is wholly in solidarity with them. For the CPSU it is indisputable that it is their sacred right to determine the destiny of the liberated countries and choose their social system.

The CPSU supports the just struggle of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism and the oppression of the multinational monopolies and advocates the assertion of the sovereign right to control one's own resources, the restructuring of international relations on an equal, democratic basis, the creation of a new international economic order, and deliverance from the debt shackles imposed by the imperialists.

The Soviet Union is on the side of states and peoples repelling the attacks of the aggressive forces of imperialism and defending their freedom, independence, and national dignity. Solidarity with them in our time is also an important part of the overall struggle for peace and international security. The party deems it its international duty to support the struggle of peoples who are still under the yoke of racism and are victims of the apartheid system.

The CPSU understands the goals and activity of the Nonaligned Movement and advocates increasing its role in world politics. The USSR will continue to side with the nonaligned states in the struggle against the forces of aggression and hegemonism and for the surmounting by means of talks of any disputes and conflicts that arise and to oppose the involvement of these states in military-political groupings.

The CPSU favors equal participation by the liberated countries in international affairs and an increase in their contribution to the resolution of the most important problems of the day. Collaboration between these countries and the socialist states is of immense importance for consolidating the people's independence, improving international relations, and maintaining peace.

THE ALLIANCE OF THE FORCES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS AND NATIONAL LIBERATION IS THE GUARANTEE OF MANKIND'S BETTER FUTURE.

III. RELATIONS WITH CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. THE STRUGGLE FOR LASTING PEACE AND DISARMAMENT.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that the historical dispute between the two opposed social systems into which the modern world is divided can and must be resolved peacefully. Socialism proves its advantages not by force of arms but by the force of its example in all areas of social life--by the dynamic development of the economy, science, and culture, by the enhancement of the living standard of the working people, and by the deepening of socialist democracy.

Soviet communists are convinced that the future belongs to socialism. Each people is worthy of living in a society free of social and national oppression, in a society of genuine equality of rights and genuine democracy. To rid themselves of exploitation and injustice is the sovereign right of oppressed and exploited peoples. Revolutions are the logical result of social development and of the class struggle in each given country. The CPSU has always considered and does consider the "export" of revolution and its imposition upon anyone from outside to be fundamentally unacceptable. But any forms of the "export" of counterrevolution are also a very crude encroachment upon the free will of the peoples, and upon their right to independently choose the path of their development.

The Soviet Union resolutely opposes attempts to halt and reverse the course of history by force.

The interests of the peoples require that interstate relations be directed into the channel of peaceful competition and equitable cooperation.

**THE CPSU UPHOLDS FIRMLY AND CONSISTENTLY THE LENINIST PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS.** The policy of peaceful coexistence, as the CPSU understands it, presupposes: the renunciation of war and of the use of force or threat of force as a means of resolving disputes, and their solution by negotiation; noninterference in the internal affairs and consideration of the legitimate interests of each other; the right of peoples to independently determine their own destiny; strict respect for sovereignty, for the territorial integrity of states and for the inviolability of their borders; cooperation on the basis of full equality of rights and mutual benefit; and the conscientious discharge of commitments arising from the generally accepted principles and norms of international law and from international treaties that have been concluded.

Such are the fundamental principles upon which the Soviet Union builds its relations with the capitalist states. They are enshrined in the USSR Constitution.

The CPSU will purposefully promote the ubiquitous firm establishment in international relations of the principle of peaceful coexistence as a generally acknowledged norm of interstate relations which is observed by all. It considers the spread of the ideological contradictions between the two systems to the sphere of these relations to be inadmissible.

The party will strive for the development of the process of the relaxation of international tension, regarding it as a natural and necessary stage on the path toward the creation of a comprehensive and reliable system of security.

The available experience of cooperation confirms the feasibility of such a prospect. The CPSU favors the creation and use of international mechanisms and institutions which would make it possible to find an optimal correlation of national and state interests with the interests common to all mankind. It favors the enhancement of the role of the United Nations in consolidating peace and in the development of international cooperation.

Special responsibility for the situation in the world rests with the nuclear powers. The states possessing nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction must renounce their use and threat of their use and refrain from steps leading to an exacerbation of the international situation.

THE CPSU FAVORS NORMAL, STABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES,, which presuppose noninterference in internal affairs, respect for each other's legitimate interests, the acknowledgment and practical implementation of the principle of identical security, and the establishment of the greatest possible mutual trust on this basis. Differences of social systems and ideology are not a reason for tense relations. Objective preconditions exist for the establishment of fruitful, mutually advantageous Soviet-U.S. cooperation in various spheres. It is the CPSU's conviction that the policy of both powers must be oriented toward mutual understanding and not toward enmity, which entails the threat of catastrophic consequences not only for the Soviet and American peoples but also for other peoples as well.

The CPSU is convinced that all states, large and small, regardless of their potential or geographical location and irrespective of which social system they belong to, can and must participate in the quest for solutions to acute problems, in the settlement of conflict situations, and in measures to relax tension and curb the arms race.

THE CPSU ATTACHES GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TO THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF PEACEFUL GOOD-NEIGHBORLINESS AND COOPERATION AMONG THE STATE OF EUROPE. Respect for the territorial-political realities which came about as a result of World War II is an inalienable condition for the stability of positive processes in this and in other regions. The CPSU is resolutely opposed to attempts to revise these realities on any pretexts whatsoever and will rebuff any manifestations of revanchism.

The party will consistently strive to ensure that the process of strengthening security, trust, and peaceful cooperation in Europe, begun at the Soviet Union's initiative and with its active participation, develops, deepens, AND ENCOMPASSES THE WHOLE WORLD. The CPSU advocates the pooling of efforts of all interested states for the purposes of ensuring security in Asia, and it advocates a joint search by them for a constructive solution to this problem. Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins can and must become zones of peace and good-neighborliness.

The CPSU favors the development of broad, long-term, and stable links between states in the sphere of the economy, science, and technology on the basis of full equality and mutual advantage. Foreign economic cooperation is of great political significance, promoting the strengthening of peace and of relations of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. The

Soviet Union rejects any forms of discrimination and the use of trading, economic, scientific, and technical relations as a means of exerting pressure, and it will seek to ensure the economic security of states.

The CPSU is an advocate of the broad mutual exchange of genuine cultural values between all countries. This exchange must serve humane goals: the spiritual enrichment of peoples and the strengthening of peace and good-neighbornliness.

The party and the Soviet state will cooperate with other countries in solving global problems, which have become especially exacerbated in the second half of the 20th century and are vitally important for all mankind: the preservation of the environment, the energy, raw materials, food, and demographic problems, the peaceful development of space and of the wealth of the world's oceans, the overcoming of the economic backwardness of many liberated countries, the liquidation of dangerous diseases and so forth. Their solution requires the joint efforts of all states. It will be substantially facilitated if the squandering of effort and means on the arms race is terminated.

In the interests of mankind and for the good of the present and future generations, THE CPSU AND THE SOVIET STATE UPHOLD A BROAD, CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM OF MEASURES AIMED AT ENDING THE ARMS RACE AND SECURING DISARMAMENT AND AT ENSURING THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE PEOPLES.

Regarding GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT under strict, comprehensive international control as a historic task and continuing the struggle for its realization, the CPSU will consistently seek:

— THE LIMITATION AND NARROWING OF THE SPHERES OF MILITARY PREPARATIONS, especially those connected with weapons of mass destruction. Above all, space must be totally excluded from this sphere to ensure that it does not become an arena of military rivalry and a source of death and destruction. The exploration and development of space must be carried out only for peaceful purposes for the development of science and production in accordance with the needs of all peoples. The USSR favors collective efforts in the solution of this problem and will participate energetically in international cooperation of this kind. The Soviet Union will also advocate the adoption of measures which promote the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and the creation of zones free of these and other means of mass destruction;

-- The implementation of steps leading to THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS and including the ending of tests and the production of all types of these weapons, the renunciation by all nuclear powers of first use of nuclear weapons, and the freezing, reduction, and destruction of all arsenals of these weapons;

-- THE CESSATION OF THE PRODUCTION AND THE DESTRUCTION OF OTHER TYPES OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, including chemical weapons, and the prohibition of the creation of new types of such weapons;

-- THE REDUCTION OF THE ARMED FORCES OF STATES, and primarily of the permanent members of the Security Council and of states linked with them by military agreements, the limitation of conventional arms, the ending of the creation of new types of conventional arms which approximate weapons of mass destruction in terms of casualty-inflicting potential, and the reduction of the military expenditure of states;

-- THE FREEZING AND REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN THE MOST EXPLOSIVE REGIONS OF THE PLANET, the elimination of military bases on foreign territory, the adoption of measures for mutual confidence building and for reducing the risk of the emergence of armed conflicts, including those arising accidentally [v resulataje sluchaynosti].

The CPSU's stance is to seek to overcome the world's split into military-political groupings. The CPSU favors the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact or, as a first step, the dismantling of their military organizations. For the purpose of reducing the confrontation between military blocs, the Soviet Union advocates the conclusion of a treaty between them on the mutual nonuse of force and on the maintenance of relations of peace, which treaty will be open to all other states.

The CPSU will strive to ensure that questions of arms limitation and of averting the threat of war may be resolved by honest and strictly observed accords on the basis of the equality and identical security of the sides, and that any attempts to conduct negotiations "from a position of strength" or to use them as a cover for building up arms may be ruled out.

The Soviet state and its allies do not strive to achieve military superiority but nor will they allow the military-strategic equilibrium which has come about in the world arena to be disrupted. At the same time, they consistently seek to ensure that the level of this equilibrium is steadily lowered and that the quantity of arms on both sides is reduced while the security of all peoples is guaranteed.

THE CPSU SOLEMNLY STATES THAT THERE IS NO WEAPON THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT BE PREPARED TO LIMIT OR PROHIBIT ON A MUTUAL BASIS WITH THE APPLICATION OF EFFECTIVE CONTROL.

The USSR does not encroach on the security of any country, be it in the West or in the East. It threatens no one, does not seek antagonism with any state, and desires to live in peace with all countries. Since the time of Great October, the Soviet socialist state has borne aloft the banner of peace and friendship among the peoples, and the CPSU will continue to preserve its loyalty to this Leninist banner.

#### IV. THE CPSU IN THE WORLD WORKERS AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The CPSU is a component of the international communist movement. It views its activity to improve socialist society and to advance toward communism as a very important international task whose solution accords with the interests of the world socialist system and the interests of the international working class and all mankind.

The communists, who have always been the most consistent fighters against social and national oppression, are now also on the frontline of the struggle for the conservation of peace on earth and for people's right to life. They clearly understand the reasons for the threat of war, expose those really to blame for the aggravation of international tension and the arms race, and seek to cooperate with all those who can contribute to the antiwar struggle.

The CPSU believes that the communist and workers parties of the nonsocialist world are acting in a complex and contradictory situation. The range of the conditions and forms of their struggle is very broad. Yet that does not restrict but, on the contrary, expands the movement's potential. The multiplicity of the forms of their activity enables communists better to consider specific national features, the specific historical situation, and the interests of various social groups and strata of the population.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that the communists of each country independently analyze and assess the situation and determine autonomously their own strategic course, their own policy, and the choice of particular paths of struggle for immediate and ultimate goals and for communist ideals. The experience accumulated by the communist parties is a valuable international asset.

The CPSU attentively studies the foreign communist parties' problems and experience. It treats with understanding their desire to improve their strategy and tactics, to achieve the expansion of the class alliances on the platform of antimonopoly and antiwar actions, and to uphold the working people's economic interests and political rights, proceeding from the premise that the struggle for democracy is a component of the struggle for socialism.

The imperialist circles of various countries are closely coordinating their actions against socialism and all democratic forces and are seeking to set some communist parties against others. Under these conditions the importance of proletarian internationalism and communists' comradely solidarity increases.

The CPSU believes that the existence of differences on individual questions should not prevent the communist parties' international cooperation and their united actions.

In those cases when differences on individual problems arise between the fraternal parties, the CPSU considers it useful to hold comradely discussions with a view to better understanding each other's views and elaborating mutually acceptable assessments. When it is a case of the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and the thrust and role of real socialism, the CPSU will continue from principled positions to rebuff opportunism, reformism, dogmatism, and sectarianism. This also defines the CPSU's attitude toward any attempts to emasculate the class meaning of communists' activity or to distort the revolutionary nature of the goals and means of the struggle to achieve them. Experience shows that deviations from the foundations of the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin weaken the communist movement's potential.

In its relations with the fraternal parties, the CPSU FIRMLY ADHERES TO THE PRINCIPLE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, which organically includes revolutionary solidarity and a recognition of each party's full autonomy and equal rights. On the basis of this principle the CPSU actively develops ties with the communist and workers parties, exchanging information and taking part in bilateral and multilateral meetings and the regional and broader international conferences held when necessary.

Soviet Communists are always on the side of their class comrades in the capitalist world. The CPSU will use its international prestige to defend communists who are the victims of reaction's tyranny. It assesses highly the solidarity of the fraternal parties and their struggle against anti-Sovietism. The mutual support of the communist and workers parties of the socialist and nonsocialist countries is an important factor of social progress.

The CPSU will continue its line toward the development of relations with socialist, social-democratic, and labor parties. Cooperation with them can play an important part, above all in preventing nuclear war. However deep the differences between various currents of the workers movement, this is no obstacle to the fruitful and systematic exchange of opinions or to parallel and even joint actions against the danger of war and for the normalization of the international situation, the abolition of the vestiges of colonialism, and the working people's interests and rights.

The CPSU attaches great importance to activating the cooperation of all sectors of the international workers movement and to the intensification of collaboration between trade unions of various orientations and the youth, women's, peasants', and other democratic organizations of various countries.

Profoundly aware of its historic responsibility to the world working class and its communist vanguard, the CPSU will continue to:

- Defend the revolutionary ideals and Marxist-Leninist foundations of the world communist movement, creatively develop the theory of scientific socialism, and consistently struggle against dogmatism and revisionism and any influences exerted by bourgeois ideology on the workers movement;
- Do everything for the cohesion and collaboration of the fraternal parties, communists' international solidarity, and an increase in the communist movement's contribution to the prevention of world war;
- Steer a consistent course toward the unity of actions of the international working class and all working people in the struggle for their common interests, for lasting peace and the people's security, and for national independence, democracy, and socialism.

#### PART FOUR. THE PARTY--THE LEADING FORCE OF SOVIET SOCIETY

The CPSU has traveled a path unprecedented in its depth and in the force of its impact on social development. Its ascent has been rapid from the first Marxist circles through three people's revolutions to the leadership of a great socialist power.

The Soviet people's historic achievements in building a new society, the victory in the Great Patriotic War, the country's confident advance toward increasingly high levels of socioeconomic and spiritual progress, and the growth of the Soviet Union's influence on the course of world development are indivisibly linked with the communist party's activity. It is the inspirer and organizer of the masses' historical creativity and the leading and guiding force of our society. Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, the party defines the general prospects for the country's development, ensures the scientific leadership of the people's constructive activity, and imparts an organized, planned, and purposeful nature to communist building.

As a result of the building [postroyeniye] of socialism in the USSR, the transition of all strata of working people to the positions of the working class, and the consolidation of Soviet society's sociopolitical and ideological unity, the communist party, while remaining the party of the working class in terms of its class essence and ideology, has become the party of the whole people. This predetermines the revolutionary continuity and class-based nature of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy and entire activity.

Under the new historical conditions, when the country has been faced with crucial tasks in internal development and in the international arena, THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE NATURALLY GROWS in the life of Soviet society and higher demands are made on the standard of its political and organizational activity. This is conditioned by basic factors such as:

-- The increased dimensions and the complexity of the tasks of improving socialism and accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and the need to elaborate and consistently implement a policy which ensures their successful solution and the organic interconnection of society's economic, social, and spiritual progress;

-- The development of the political system and the intensification of democracy and the people's socialist self-management on the basis of the masses' enhanced political and labor activeness and their broad involvement in the management of production and state and social affairs;

-- The need for the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the in-depth consideration of the practice of communist building, the search for scientifically substantiated and timely answers to the questions set by life, the raising of working people's awareness, and the eradication of vestiges of petit bourgeois mentality and morality and any deviations from the norms of the socialist way of life;

-- The interests of strengthening the socialist countries' cohesion, expanding their comprehensive cooperation, and strengthening the unity of the international communist, workers', and national liberation movement and the struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism, dogmatism, reformism, and sectarianism;

-- The complication of foreign policy conditions in connection with the growth of imperialist aggressiveness and the need to increase vigilance, ensure the country's security and for new and increasingly persistent efforts aimed at curbing the forces of aggression, ending the arms race, saving mankind from the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, and strengthening world peace.

In implementing the political leadership of society, the CPSU will continue to consistently apply tried and tested Leninist principles, to assert the Leninist style in party work and in all spheres of state and economic management, to enhance the scientific grounds for its policy, to extensively rely on the masses' collective reason and experience, and to develop their social initiative. It attaches fundamental significance to the unity of ideological, theoretical, political education, organizational, and economic activity, to the uncompromising struggle against any stagnation and conservatism, and to the creative quest for modern solutions to socioeconomic, scientific, technical, and ideological education problems.

The CPSU deems it necessary to thoroughly take the specific functions of party, state, and social organs into account, to coordinate their work, to prevent duplication, to enhance the role of party committees as organs of political leadership, to eradicate manifestations of formalism, conventionalism, and bureaucratic and other distortions in the work of the management apparatus, to step up controls over the fulfillment of party resolutions and national economic plans, and to strengthen state and labor discipline, order, and organization.

The party will tirelessly assert a creative approach, professionalism, and high responsibility with principles in the activity of all party organizations and labor collectives, foster the ability objectively and self-critically to assess the results that have been achieved, and take an attentive and sensitive attitude to people and their needs and requirements.

The party indissolubly links the enhancement of the level of the leadership of state, economic, and cultural building with further IMPROVING WORK WITH CADRES. IT DEEMS IT NECESSARY FOR THE LENINIST principles of the selection and assessment of cadres according to their political, businesslike, and moral qualities to be rigorously observed everywhere, from the top down, and for public opinion to be more fully taken into account.

In its entire cadre policy the CPSU will promote the nomination for leadership of politically mature, highly moral, competent, and enterprising workers drawn from communists and nonparty people and will more actively nominate women for leadership work. It attaches principled importance to leadership qualities such as a sense of what is new, a willingness to take responsibility, a desire to learn to work better, an ability to take into account the political meaning of economic management and any activity linked with people, and expecting much from oneself and others.

The party is concerned to ensure that in all sectors, young and promising workers should work hand in hand with experienced cadres of the older generation, gain experience, and acquire the necessary tempering. This is a

natural process that must not be violated since it creates a reliable guarantee against sluggishness, stagnation, and voluntarism.

Trust in cadres must be combined with expecting much from them, increasing their personal responsibility to party organizations and labor collectives for the results of work and the observance of party and state discipline, and stepping up controls over the activity of leaders on the part of the masses. Each leader must be fully accountable for his assigned task, build relations with people properly, and inspire them through personal example. NO PARTY ORGANIZATION AND NO WORKER CAN REMAIN OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF CONTROL.

The development of the party is characterized by the further GROWTH AND STRENGTHENING OF PARTY RANKS AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF INTRAPARTY RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM.

Absorbing front-ranking representatives of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and Soviet intelligentsia, the party is increasing its influence in various sectors of communist building. The CPSU considers it necessary that workers take the leading place in its social makeup. People's political and professional qualities, honesty and probity, and readiness to devote all their strength to the cause of communism have been and remain the determining condition for admission to party ranks. It is necessary to strictly put a stop to attempts to infiltrate the party for careerist motives.

Belonging to the party brings no privileges but means merely greater responsibility for everything that is happening in the country and for the fate of communist building and social progress. Each Communist is obliged to be a model in labor, in behavior, and in social and personal life. The stability of the party's ties with the masses and its prestige among the people largely depend on how fully the VANUGARD ROLE OF COMMUNISTS is manifested. The party will constantly step up demands on each of its members concerning their attitude toward their duty and the honest and pure makeup of a party member and judge them by their deeds and actions.

The CPSU regards the further DISSEMINATION AND DEEPENING OF INTRAPARTY DEMOCRACY, the strict observance of the Leninist norms of party life, the development of criticism and self-criticism, and extensive publicity as a guarantee of its successful activity and high creative activeness.

The party will continue to build its entire work on the basis of the tried and tested PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVENESS. With a view to further asserting and developing it, the CPSU deems it necessary to enhance the role and importance of party meetings, plenums, conferences, and congresses and of party committees and bureaus as collegial organs of leadership and to ensure favorable conditions for the free and businesslike discussion within the party of questions of its policy and practical activity.

In striving to ensure that the democratic principles of intraparty life are consistently implemented, the CPSU simultaneously devotes unremitting attention to the STRENGTHENING OF PARTY DISCIPLINE. The firm and conscientious discipline of party members is a necessary prerequisite for high socialist discipline in all spheres of society's life.

Successful party activity and the growth of Communists' activeness are indissolubly linked with further improving the work of primary party organizations. As the political nucleus of labor collectives, they are called upon to promote in every possible way the combination of party policy with the vital creativity of the masses.

The party will always strengthen the unity and monolithic nature of party ranks. It retains in the arsenal of its means the organizational guarantees stipulated by the CPSU Rules against any manifestations of factionalism and cliquishness whatsoever. The most important source of the party's strength and invincibility lies in its indissoluble ideological and organizational cohesion.

The CPSU proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist tenet that the people are the creators of history and communist creation is the work of their hands, their energy, and their minds. The people's living creativity is the guarantee of all our achievements.

The party exists for the people and sees the purport of its activity in serving them. The goals and tasks which it sets itself reflect Soviet people's aspirations and fundamental interests. The party will continue to act in a spirit of high responsibility to the people, constantly expand and deepen its links with the masses, and live for their needs and concerns. It considers its duty to constantly consult working people on the most important questions of domestic and foreign policy, to attentively take account of public opinion, and to involve nonparty people more actively in participating in the work of party organizations. The more actively the party is supported by the people the greater the influence it will exert on the course of social development.

In all its activity the CPSU is steadily guided by the TRIED AND TESTED MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF PROLETARIAN AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM. It will promote in every possible way the strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, develop fraternal ties with all communist and workers parties, actively cooperate with them in the struggle for peace and against the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, and support their struggle for the defense of working people's fundamental interests and for national liberation, democracy, and socialism.

#### THAT IS THE CPSU PROGRAM.

The party calls on Communists and all working people--workers, kolkhoz members, and the intelligentsia--to tackle with all their vigor the implementation of the historic tasks put forward by it. The party is confident that Soviet people will perceive the CPSU program as their vital concern and will make every effort to implement it.

The party's strategy is to achieve a qualitatively new state of society through the substantial acceleration of socioeconomic progress. The all-around improvement of socialism will bring new benefits to each family and each Soviet person and will lead to the further prosperity of our socialist fatherland and ultimately to the triumph of communism.

Our people's onward movement toward this cherished goal will augment the magnetic force of the ideas of transforming society on the basis of humanitarian and social justice. They are winning people's hearts and minds through the example of the more sophisticated organization of society, the steady growth of productive forces, the nurturing of the conditions for people's creative labor, happiness, and prosperity, the resolute rejection of aggressive wars, and the assertion of the principles of peace and broad cooperation among peoples on the basis of equality and universal security.

Communists and all our country's working people are looking to the future with confidence. We are confident of our strength and are firmly convinced that through the selfless labor of the Soviet people--a creator people and builder people--the tasks that have been set will be resolved and the planned heights will be scaled. That is the inexorable will of the communist party and the entire Soviet people.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND UNDER THE BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM THE SOVIET PEOPLE HAVE BUILT SOCIALISM.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND UNDER THE BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM THE SOVIET PEOPLE WILL BUILD A COMMUNIST SOCIETY.

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CSO: 1802/4-F

STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (WITH PROPOSED CHANGES).  
DRAFT

PMI2040 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 85 (signed to press 4 Nov 85)  
pp 57-72

[Uppercase passages published in italics]

[Text] The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the militant and tried and tested vanguard of the Soviet people, uniting on principles of voluntary participation the advanced and most conscious segment of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia of the USSR. Founded by V.I. Lenin as the advanced detachment of the working class, the Communist Party has covered a glorious road of struggle and led the working class and the toiling peasants to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the exploiter classes were liquidated in the Soviet Union and the sociopolitical and ideological unity of the Soviet multinational society was established and is constantly strengthening. Socialism has won full and complete victory. The proletarian state has developed into a state of the whole people.

The CPSU, while remaining in its class essence and ideology the party of the working class, has become the party of the entire people.

The party exists for the people and serves the people. It is the highest form of sociopolitical organization, the nucleus of the political system, and the leading and directing force of Soviet society. The party defines the general prospects of the country's development and ensures scientific leadership of the people's activity and gives an organized, planned [planomernyy], and purposeful character to their struggle to reach the final goal--the victory of communism.

The CPSU builds its work on the basis of strict observance of Leninist norms of party life and the principles of democratic centralism, collectiveness of leadership, the comprehensive development of intraparty democracy, the creative activeness of Communists, criticism and self-criticism, and broad publicity.

The immutable law of the life of the CPSU is the ideological and organizational unity and monolithic cohesion [monolitnost] of its ranks and the high, conscious discipline of all Communists. Any manifestation of factionalism and group activity is incompatible with Marxist-Leninist party principles and party membership. The party rids itself of persons who violate the program and the CPSU statutes and who compromise the lofty title of communist by their behavior.

In all its activity the CPSU is guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching and its program, in which the tasks of the systematic and all-around improvement of socialism and of Soviet society's further advance toward communism on the basis of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development are defined.

Creatively developing Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU resolutely combats any manifestations of revisionism and dogmatism, which are deeply alien to revolutionary theory.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an integral part of the international communist movement. It is firmly based on tested Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism and actively assists in strengthening the cooperation and cohesion of the fraternal socialist countries and in consolidating the world system of socialism and the unity of the international communist and workers movement, and displays solidarity with peoples struggling for national and social liberation, against imperialism, and for the preservation of peace.

## I. MEMBERS OF THE PARTY, THEIR DUTIES AND RIGHTS

1. Any citizen of the Soviet Union who accepts the party program and statutes, who actively participates in the building of communism, who works in a party organization, who fulfills party decisions, and pays membership dues may be a member of the CPSU.

### 2. Duties of the party member.

a. To implement firmly and unswervingly the party's general line and directives, explain the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy to the masses, organize the working people to implement it, and promote the strengthening and expansion of the ties between the party and the people;

b. To set an example of a conscientious, creative attitude to labor and high organization and discipline and to protect and augment socialist property--the economic basis of the Soviet socialist system. To persistently strive to improve production efficiency, steadily increase labor productivity, and introduce the achievements of modern science and technology into the national economy; to improve their qualifications, support and disseminate leading experience, and actively champion everything new and progressive;

c. To take an active part in the political life of the country, in the management of state and public affairs, set an example in the execution of

civic duty, and actively promote the increasingly full implementation of socialist people's self-management;

d. To master Marxist-Leninist theory, expand one's political and cultural horizons, and promote in every possible way the raising of the consciousness and the ideological and moral growth of the Soviet people. To wage a resolute struggle against any manifestations of bourgeois ideology, the private ownership mentality, religious prejudices, and other views and customs that are alien to the socialist way of life;

e. To strictly observe the norms of communist morality, to affirm the principle of socialist justice inherent in socialism, to put public interests above personal interests, to display modesty and decency, sensitivity, and attention toward people, to respond promptly to the working people's demands and needs, and to be truthful and honest to the party and people;

f. To consistently convey to the masses of working people the ideas of proletarian, socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism, combat manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, and actively help to strengthen the friendship among the USSR's peoples and fraternal ties with the socialist countries and with the proletarians and working people of the whole world;

g. To further in every possible way the strengthening of the USSR's defense might and to wage a tireless struggle for peace and friendship among the peoples;

h. To strengthen the ideological and organizational unity of the party, to protect the party against the penetration into its ranks of people unworthy of the high title of communist, to display vigilance, and to keep party and state secrets;

i. To develop criticism and self-criticism, boldly expose shortcomings and work to eliminate them, fight against ostentation, conceit, complacency, parochialism, departmentalism, and window dressing, decisively rebuff all attempts to suppress criticism, and oppose any activities prejudicial to the party and state and report them to the party organs, right up to the CPSU Central Committee;

j. To strictly pursue the party line on the selection of cadres on the basis of their political, professional, and moral qualities. To be implacable in all cases where the Leninist principles of the selection and education of cadres are violated;

k. To observe party and state discipline, which is equally obligatory for all members of the party. The party has only one discipline and one law for all Communists, irrespective of services or office.

3. The party member has the right:

a. To elect and to be elected to the party organs;

b. To discuss freely at party meetings, conferences, congresses, and party committee sessions and in the party press questions regarding the party's policy and practical activity, submit proposals, and openly express and defend one's opinion before the organization adopts a decision;

c. To criticize at party meetings, conferences, congresses, and committee plenums any party organ or any Communist, irrespective of the post he occupies. Persons guilty of suppressing criticism or persecuting others for criticism must be called to strict party account, up to and including expulsion from the ranks of the CPSU;

d. To take part personally in party meetings and bureau and committee sessions when the question of his activity and behavior is being discussed;

e. To address questions, statements, and proposals to any party body [instantsiya], up to and including the CPSU Central Committee, and to demand a reply on the substance of the application.

4. Admission to party membership is carried out exclusively on an individual basis. Workers, peasants, and members of the intelligentsia who are conscious, active, and devoted to the cause of communism are admitted as party members. New members are admitted from the ranks of candidate members with the required length of candidate party service.

Persons who have reached the age of 18 years are admitted to the party. Young people up to the age of 25 inclusive enter the party only through the All-Union Komsomol.

**Procedure for the admission of candidates as party members:**

a. Persons to be admitted as party members must produce recommendations from three CPSU members with no less than 5 years' standing in the party who have been acquainted with the candidate in joint production and public work for not less than a year.

Note 1. Members of the All-Union Komsomol entering the party submit the recommendation of the All-Union Komsomol raykom or gorkom, which is equivalent to the recommendation of one party member.

Note 2. Members and candidates for membership in the CPSU Central Committee will refrain from acting as sponsors;

b. The question of admission to the party is discussed and decided by the general meeting of the primary party organization; its decision is deemed to be adopted if not less than two-thirds of the party members present at the meeting voted for it, and comes into force after ratification by the raykom, and, in towns which have no rayon division, by the party gorkom.

The presence of the sponsors is not obligatory during the discussion of admission to the party. Admission to the party takes place as a rule at open meetings;

c. Citizens of the USSR who were formerly members of communist and workers parties in other countries are admitted to the CPSU on the basis of rules established by the CPSU Central Committee.

5. Sponsors are responsible to the party organizations for objectively describing the political, professional, and moral qualities of the candidates and give them assistance in ideological and political growth.

6. The length of party service of persons admitted to the party dates from adoption of the decision by the general meeting of the primary party organization admitting the candidate to party membership.

7. The procedure for registering members and candidates for party membership and their transfer from one organization to another is established by appropriate instructions of the CPSU Central Committee.

8. The question of party members and candidates who without valid reason have failed to pay membership dues for 3 months is subject to discussion in the primary party organization. If it is found that a given member or candidate for party membership has in fact lost contact with the party organization, he is then considered struck from the party roll and the primary party organization adopts a decision to that effect and submits it to the party raykom or gorkom for ratification.

9. The party member or candidate member will be made to answer for failure to carry out the duties laid down by the statutes and other offenses and the following penalties may be imposed on him: public warning [postanovka na vid], reprimand (severe reprimand), reprimand (severe reprimand) with notation in his report card. The most severe form of party punishment is expulsion from the party.

For minor offenses, party educational measures and other means of influence must be applied in the form of comradely criticism, party censure, warning, and instruction.

A Communist who has committed a misdemeanor answers for it in the first instance to the primary party organization. If a Communist is called to party account by a higher organ, the primary party organization is informed of this.

In examining the question of calling [a Communist] to party account maximum caution [vnimaniye] and a painstaking examination of the validity of the accusations leveled against the Communist must be ensured.

Not later than a year after the imposition of a penalty on a party member the party organization must hear his report on how he is rectifying the shortcomings he committed.

10. The question of expelling a Communist from the party is decided by a general meeting of the primary party organization. The decision of the primary party organization regarding expulsion from the party is considered adopted when not less than two-thirds of the party members attending the

meeting vote for it and enters into force after its ratification by the party raykom or gorkom.

Until the party raykom or gorkom ratifies the decision for expulsion from the CPSU, the party card or candidate's card will be retained by the Communist and he has the right to attend closed party meetings.

Anyone expelled from the party has the right to appeal within a 2-month period to higher party organs, up to and including the CPSU Central Committee.

11. The question of calling to party account the members and candidate members of a union republic Communist Party Central Committee or party kraykom, obkom, okruzhkom, gorkom, or raykom, and also of the members of the auditing commissions is discussed by the primary party organizations.

The decisions of the party organizations imposing penalties on members and candidate members of these party committees and members of auditing commissions are taken by regular procedure.

The proposals of the party organizations for expulsion from the CPSU are conveyed to the appropriate party committee of which the Communist in question is a member. Decisions regarding expulsion from the party of members and candidate members of a union republic Communist Party Central Committee or party kraykom, obkom, okruzhkom, gorkom, or raykom, and members of the auditing commissions are adopted at the plenum of the appropriate committee by a majority of two-thirds of the votes of its members.

The question of expulsion from the party of a member or candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee or a member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission is decided by the party congress and, during the period between congresses, by a plenum of the Central Committee by a majority of two-thirds of the members of the Central Committee.

12. A party member bears a dual responsibility for violating Soviet laws--to the state and to the party. Persons committing misdemeanors punishable by criminal proceedings are expelled from the ranks of the CPSU.

13. Appeals of members expelled from the party or penalized by the party and the decisions of the party organizations on expulsion from the party are reviewed by the appropriate party organs not later than 2 months from the date of their receipt.

## II. CANDIDATES FOR PARTY MEMBERSHIP

14. Persons joining the party undergo a period of candidate service necessary to familiarize them in greater depth with the CPSU Program and Statutes and prepare them to join the party.

The party organization must assist candidates to prepare for CPSU membership and check their personal qualities as reflected in practical actions and in the fulfillment of party and public instructions.

The length of the trial period for a candidate is 1 year.

15. Procedure for candidate admission (individual admission, submission of recommendations, and decision of primary organization on candidate admission and its ratification) is the same as for admission to party membership.

16. On the expiration of the trial period, the primary party organization considers and decides on the admission of the candidate to CPSU membership. Should a candidate fail to prove himself during the trial period and should his personal qualities make him unworthy of CPSU membership, the party organization will adopt a decision refusing him admission to the party and, on ratification of this decision by a party raykom or gorkom, he will cease to be a candidate for CPSU membership.

17. Candidate members of the party participate in all party organization activities and have a consultative vote at party meetings. Candidate members of the party cannot be elected to leading party organs or be delegates to party conferences and congresses.

18. Candidate members of the CPSU pay the same party dues as party members.

### III. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY, INTRAPARTY DEMOCRACY

19. The guiding principles of the organizational structure and of all the life and activity of the party is democratic centralism, which means:

- a. Election of all leading party organs, from the lowest to the highest organ;
- b. Periodic accountability of party organs to their party organizations and higher organs;
- c. Strict party discipline and the subordination of the minority to the majority;
- d. The decisions of the higher organs are absolutely binding on lower organs.

20. The party is structured on the territorial-production basis: Primary organizations are formed at the Communists' place of work and are united in rayon, city, and other organizations in a given territory. The organization uniting the Communists of a given territory is the superior organ for all the party organizations constituting that organization.

#### Party Members.

21. All party organizations are autonomous in deciding local matters provided the decisions are not contrary to party policy.

22. The highest leadership organ of the party organization is: the general meeting or conference (for primary organizations); the conference (for rayon, city, okrug, oblast, and kray organizations); and the congress (for union republic communist parties and the CPSU). The meeting, conference, and

congress are quorate [pravomochnyy] if more than half of the members of the party organization or elected delegates are present.

23. The general meeting, conference, or congress elects the bureau or committee, which are the executive organs, and guides the entire current work of the party organization.

In the CPSU Central Committee, union republic Communist Party central committees, and party kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms an apparatus is created for current work to organize and verify the execution of party decisions and to assist lower organizations in their activity.

The structure and staff of the party apparatus are determined by the CPSU Central Committee.

24. The election of party organs is by closed (secret) ballot. At meetings in primary and shop organizations with fewer than 15 party members and in party groups the election of secretaries and deputy secretaries of party organizations and party group organizers may take place by open ballot with the consent of the Communists.

All members of the party have the unrestricted right during elections to reject candidates and criticize them. Each candidacy must be voted on separately. Candidates will be deemed elected if over half of the participants in the meeting, conference, or congress vote for them.

In the election of all party organs, from primary organizations to the CPSU Central Committee, the principle of the systematic renewal of their composition and of continuity of leadership shall be observed.

25. Members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee, union republic Communist Party central committees, and party kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms must, in all their activities, justify the great trust shown in them. If the party committee member or candidate member loses [uronit] his honor and dignity, he cannot remain in the body of the committee.

The question of the removal of the party committee member or candidate member from the party committee is decided at a plenum of the committee. The decision is considered adopted if, in a closed (secret) ballot, no less than two-thirds of the party committee members vote for it.

The question of the removal of members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and the auditing commissions of local party organizations from those commission is decided at their sessions under the procedure laid down for members and candidate members of party committees.

26. Free and businesslike discussion of the questions of party policy in individual party organizations or in the party as a whole is an inalienable right of a party member and an important principle of intraparty democracy. Only on the basis of intraparty democracy is it possible to ensure high creative activeness on the part of Communists, open criticism and self-

criticism, and firm party discipline, which must be conscious and not mechanical.

Debates on disputed or insufficiently clear questions are possible within the framework of individual organizations or the party as a whole.

Partywide debate is necessary:

- a. If this necessity is recognized by several party organizations of the oblast or republic level;
- b. If there is no firm majority within the Central Committee on the most important questions of party policy;
- c. If the CPSU Central Committee finds it necessary to consult the whole party on particular questions of policy.

Broad debates, especially debates on an all-union scale about questions of party policy, must be carried out so as to ensure the free expression of the views of party members and to exclude the possibility of attempts to form factional groupings, which destroy party unity, and attempts to split the party.

27. The highest principle of party leadership is collectiveness of leadership--an essential condition for normal activity of party organizations, for the correct education of cadres, and for the development of the activeness and spontaneous activity [samodeyatelnost] of Communists and a reliable guarantee against the adoption of willful, subjective decisions, against the manifestation of the cult of personality, and against violations of the Leninist norms of party life.

The collectiveness of leadership does not absolve personnel of personal responsibility for the job entrusted to them.

28. The CPSU Central Committee, union republic Communist Party central committees, and party kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms systematically inform party organizations about their work in the period between congresses and conferences.

29. For the discussion of the most important party decisions and the elaboration of measures to implement them, as well as the examination of questions of local life, meetings are convened of the aktiv of rayon, city, okrug, oblast, and kray party organizations and union republic Communist Parties.

30. Standing or temporary commissions and working groups on various questions of party work may be created in party committees, and other forms of involvement of Communists in the activity of party organs on a voluntary basis [na obshchestvennykh nachalakh] may also be used.

#### IV. THE HIGHEST PARTY ORGANS

31. The supreme organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the party congress. Regular congresses are convened by the Central Committee at least once every 5 years. The convocation of the party congress and the agenda are announced not less than 1 and 1/2 months before the congress. Out-of-turn (extraordinary) congresses are convened by the party Central Committee on its own initiative or at the request of not less than one-third of the total number of party members represented by the last party congress. Out-of-turn (extraordinary) congresses are convened on 2 months' notice. The congress is considered valid if at least half the total number of party members are represented at it.

The norms for representation at the party congress are laid down by the Central Committee.

32. If the party Central Committee does not convene an out-of-turn (extraordinary) congress within the term specified in Article 31, organizations requesting the convocation of an out-of-turn (extraordinary) congress have the right to form an organizing committee possessing the rights of the party Central Committee to convene an out-of-turn (extraordinary) congress.

##### 33. The congress:

a. Hears and approves the reports of the Central Committee, the Central Auditing Commission, and other central organizations;

b. Reviews, amends, and approves the Party Program and Statutes;

c. Determines the party line on questions of domestic and foreign policy and examines and decides on the most important questions of party and state life and communist building;

d. Elects the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission.

34. The Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission are elected in the composition established by the congress. In the event of the departure of members of the Central Committee, its membership is replenished from among the candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee elected by the congress.

35. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the period between congresses leads all the activity of the party and of local party organs; selects and places leading cadres; directs the work of central state and public organizations of the working people; creates various organs, institutions, and enterprises of the party and leads their activities; appoints the editorial staff of central papers and journals functioning under its control; and allocates funds from the party budget and monitors its execution.

The Central Committee represents the CPSU in its relations with other parties.

36. The CPSU Central Auditing Commission inspects compliance with the established procedure for the conduct of affairs and work to examine working people's letters, statements, and complaints in central party organs; the correct execution of the party budget, including the payment, receipt, and accounting of members' party dues; and also the financial and economic activity of enterprises and institutions of the CPSU Central Committee.

37. The CPSU Central Committee holds not less than one plenary session every 6 months. Candidate members of the Central Committee attend the sessions of Central Committee plenums with the right of consultative vote.

38. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union elects: a Politburo to lead the work of the party between Central Committee plenums and a Secretariat to lead current work, mainly in the selection of cadres and organization of the verification of execution. The Central Committee elects a general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

39. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union organizes the Party Control Committee under the Central Committee.

The Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee:

a. Verifies compliance with party discipline by members and candidate members of the CPSU, calls to account Communists guilty of violating the Party Program and Statutes and party and state discipline, as well as violators of party ethics;

b. Examines appeals against the decisions of the union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms on expulsion from the party and on party penalties.

40. In the period between party congresses, the CPSU Central Committee may, when necessary, convene an all-union party conference to discuss pressing matters of party policy. The procedure for holding an all-union party conference is determined by the CPSU Central Committee.

## V. REPUBLIC, KRAY, OBLAST, OKRUG, CITY, AND RAYON PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

41. The republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon party organizations and their committees are guided in their activity by the CPSU Program and Statutes; carry out within the republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon all the work of implementing party policy; and organize fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee's directives.

42. The fundamental duties of republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon party organizations and their leading organs are:

a. Political and organizational work among the masses, their mobilization to carry out the tasks of communist building, the comprehensive development of industrial and agricultural production and the improvement of its efficiency,

the fulfillment and overfulfillment of state plans, and the ensuring of steady growth in the working people's material well-being and cultural level;

b. The organization of ideological work; propaganda of Marxism-Leninism; the enhancement of working people's communist consciousness; leadership of the local press, radio, and television; and monitoring of the activity of scientific, cultural, and educational institutions;

c. Leadership of soviets of people's deputies, trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperatives, and other public organizations through the Communists working in them; increasingly broad involvement of working people in the work of these organizations; and development of the spontaneous activity and activeness of the masses as a necessary condition for the further deepening of socialist democracy;

d. Strict observance of Leninist principles and methods of leadership; the establishment of a Leninist style in party work and in all spheres of state and economic management; the ensuring of the unity of ideological, organizational, and economic activity; and the strengthening of state and labor discipline, order, and organization in all sectors;

e. The implementation of cadre policy and the education of cadres in the spirit of communist ideological commitment, moral purity, and high responsibility to the party and the people for the tasks entrusted to them;

f. Organization of various institutions and enterprises of the party in the republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon, and leadership of their activity; location of party funds within their organization; systematic reports to higher party organ and accountability to it for their work.

#### The Leading Organs of the Republic, Kray, and Oblast Party Organizations

43. The highest organ of the oblast, kray, and republic party organization is the oblast and kray party conference and the union republic Communist Party congress, and, in the period between them, the obkom, kraykom, and union republic Communist Party Central Committee.

44. The regular oblast and kray conference is convened by the obkom and kraykom once every 2-3 years. The regular congress of the union republic Communist Party is convened by the Communist Party Central Committee at least once every 5 years. Out-of-turn (extraordinary) conferences and congresses are convened by decision of the obkom, kraykom, or union republic Communist Party Central Committee or on the demand of one-third of the total number of members of the organizations belonging to the oblast, kray, or republic party organization.

The norms for representation at the oblast and kray conference and the union republic Communist Party congress are established by the relevant party committee.

The oblast and kray conference and the union republic Communist Party congress hear reports from the obkom, kraykom, union republic Communist Party Central

Committee, and the auditing commission; discuss at their discretion other questions of party, economic, and cultural building; and elect the obkom, kraykom, union republic Communist Party Central Committee, and the auditing commission, and delegates to the CPSU Congress.

In the period between union republic Communist Party congresses, in order to discuss the most important questions of party organizations' activity, Communist Party central committees may, where necessary, convene republican party conferences. The procedure for holding republican party conferences is determined by the union republic Communist Party Central Committees.

45. The obkoms, kraykoms, union republic Communist Party Central Committees elect a bureau, including committee secretaries. The secretaries must have had at least 5 years of party service.

At the committee plenums party control commission chairmen, heads of committee sections, and editors of party papers and journals are confirmed.

Secretariats are established to handle current questions and verify execution in party obkoms and kraykoms, and union republic Communist Party central committees.

46. The plenum of an obkom, kraykom, and union republic Communist Party Central Committee must be convened not less than once every 4 months.

47. The obkom, kraykom, and union republic Communist Party Central Committee lead okrug, city, and rayon party organizations, check their activities, and systematically receive reports from party okrughkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms. The party organizations of autonomous republics and of autonomous and other oblasts included in krays and union republics work under the leadership of kraykoms and the union republic Communist Party central committees.

#### Leading Organs of Okrug, City, and Rayon (Rural and City) Party Organizations

48. The highest organ of the okrug, city, and rayon party organization is the okrug, city, and rayon party conference or general meeting of Communists convened by the okrughkom, gorkom, or raykom once every 2-3 years, and the extraordinary session convened by decision of the committee or by the demand of one-third of the total number of party members belonging to the corresponding party organization.

The okrug, city, and rayon conference (meeting) hears reports of the committee and the auditing commission; examines at its discretion other questions regarding party, economic, and cultural building; and elects the okrughkom, gorkom, and raykom, the auditing commission, and delegates to the oblast or kray conferences and to the congress of the union republic's Communist Party.

The norms for representation at okrug, city, and rayon conferences are established by the party committee concerned.

49. The okrughkom, gorkom, and raykom elect a bureau, including committee secretaries, and also confirm the heads of committee sections, the party

control chairman, and newspaper editors. Okruzhkom, gorkom, and raykom secretaries must have at least 5 years' party membership. Committee secretaries are confirmed by the obkom, kraykom, and union republic Communist Party Central Committee.

50. The okruzhkom, gorkom, and raykom create primary party organizations, lead their activities, systematically hear reports on the work of the party organizations, and conduct the registration of Communists.

51. Okruzhkom, gorkom, and raykom plenums are convened not less than once every 3 months.

## VI. PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

52. The foundation of the party is the primary organization.

The primary party organizations are created at the party member's place of work--in plants, factories, sovkhozes and other enterprises, kolkhozes, units of the Armed Forces, institutions, educational institutions, and so forth--where there are at least three party members. Where necessary, territorial primary party organizations may also be formed at Communists' place of residence.

In individual cases, with the permission of the obkom, kraykom, or union republic Communist Party Central Committee, party organizations may be created within the framework of several enterprises belonging to a production association and located, as a rule, on the territory of one rayon or several rayons in one city.

53. At enterprises, kolkhozes, and institutions with over 50 CPSU members and candidate members, party organizations may be created within the overall primary party organization at workshops, sectors, livestock units, teams, departments, and so forth with the permission of the raykom, gorkom, or okruzhkom.

In the workshop, sector, and other organizations, as well as within the primary party organizations with less than 50 members and candidate members, party groups may be created within the teams and other production links.

54. The highest organ of the primary party organization is the party meeting, which is held at least once a month. In party organizations which have shop organizations, meetings, both general and shop, are held at least once every 2 months.

In large party organizations numbering more than 300 Communists, general party meetings are called as necessary within periods established by the party committees or at the request of several shop party organizations.

55. To conduct current work, the primary and the shop party organization elects for a period of 2-3 years a bureau whose numerical size is established at a party meeting. The primary and the shop party organizations with less

than 15 party members do not elect a bureau but a party organization secretary and a deputy.

The secretaries of the primary and shop party organizations must have had at least 1 year of party service.

In primary party organizations with less than 150 party members, party work, as a rule, is carried out by persons not excused from their jobs.

56. Party committees can be established at large enterprises and in establishments comprising over 300 members and candidate members of the party, and in necessary cases, considering production peculiarities and territorial dispersion, also in organizations numbering over 100 Communists—with the permission of the obkom, kraykom, or the union republic Communist Party Central Committee, with the allocation to shop party organizations of these enterprises or institutions of the rights of primary party organizations.

In the party organizations of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises in agriculture, party committees may be created where there are 50 Communists.

In party organizations numbering over 500 Communists, in individual cases, with the permission of the obkom, kraykom, or union republic Communist Party Central Committee, party committees may be created in large shops and the party organizations of production sectors are granted the rights of primary party organizations.

Party committees are elected for a term of 2-3 years and their size is determined by a general party meeting or conference.

Party committees, party bureaus, and secretaries of primary and shop party organizations systematically inform Communists about their work at party meetings.

57. Party committees of primary organizations numbering more than 1,000 Communists, with the permission of union republic Communist Party central committees, may be granted the rights of a party raykom on questions concerning admission to the CPSU, the registration of party members and candidates, and the examination of Communists' personal files.

Within these organizations enlarged party committees may be elected within which a bureau is formed for the leadership of current work.

58. The primary party organization is guided in its activities by the CPSU Program and Statutes. It is the political nucleus of the labor collective, works directly among the working people, rallies them around the party, organizes them to fulfill the tasks of communist building, and participates directly in the implementation of the party's cadre policy.

The primary party organization:

- a. Admits new members to the CPSU;

- b. Educates Communists in a spirit of devotion to the cause of the party, to ideological conviction, and to communist morality;
- c. Organizes Communists' study of Marxist-Leninist theory in close connection with the practice of communist building, and combats any attempts at revisionist distortions of Marxism-Leninism and its dogmatic interpretation and any manifestations of bourgeois ideology and backward views and sentiments;
- d. Shows concern for enhancing the vanguard role of the Communists in labor and in the sociopolitical and economic life of the enterprise, kolkhoz, institution, educational establishment, and so forth;
- e. Organizes working people to resolve the tasks of economic and social development; heads socialist competition to fulfill state plans and working people's pledges, to promote the intensification of production, to improve labor productivity and output quality, and to widely introduce into production the achievements of science and technology and leading experience; mobilizes the working people to find internal reserves; seeks the rational, economical utilization of material, labor, and financial resources; and displays concern for the preservation and augmentation of public wealth and the improvement of people's working and living conditions.
- f. Carries out mass agitation and propaganda work, educates the working people in the spirit of devotion to the ideas of communism and the friendship of peoples, helps them to develop a high political culture, ensures the enhancement of the labor collective's role in the management of the enterprise or institution in accordance with the law, and promotes the development of the activeness of trade union, Komsomol, and other public organizations;
- g. On the basis of the wide development of criticism and self-criticism, wages a struggle against manifestations of bureaucratism, parochialism, and departmentalism and breaches of state labor and production discipline; roots out attempts to cheat the state; and takes steps against slackness and uneconomic and wasteful management of enterprises, kolkhozes, and institutions;
- h. Assists the okruzhkom, gorkom, or raykom in all its activity, and accounts to it for its work.

59. Primary party organizations of enterprises in industry, transport, communications, construction, material and technical supply, trade, public catering, and municipal and consumer services, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises, planning organizations, design bureaus, scientific research institutes, educational establishments, and cultural enlightenment and medical institutions have the right to monitor the activity of the administration.

Party organizations of ministries, state committees, and other central and local soviet and economic institutions and departments exercise monitoring of the work of the apparatus in fulfilling party and government directives and observing Soviet laws. They must actively influence the improvement of the

work of the apparatus, educate employees in a spirit of high responsibility for their assigned tasks, take measures to strengthen state discipline and improve public services, wage a decisive struggle against bureaucratism and red tape, and promptly inform the corresponding party organs of any shortcomings in the work of the institutions or individual workers, regardless of their positions.

Note. In primary party organizations commissions may be formed to exercise the right of monitoring the administration's activity and the work of the apparatus in particular areas of production activity.

## VII. THE PARTY AND STATE AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

60. The CPSU exercises leadership of state and public organizations through the Communists working in them. The party strives to ensure that state and public organizations fully exercise their constitutional powers and statutory rights and duties and promotes the wide involvement of working people in their work. Party organizations operate within the framework of the USSR Constitution; they do not supplant soviet, trade union, cooperative, and other public organizations and do not tolerate confusion of the functions of party and other organs or unnecessary parallelism in work.

61. At congresses, conferences, and meetings convened by state and public organizations and also in the elected organs of these organizations where there are at least three party members, party groups will be organized. The task of these groups is to comprehensively strengthen the influence of the party and to pursue its policy in the relevant nonparty organizations, to develop Communists' activeness and increase their responsibility for the state of affairs in these organizations, to strictly observe democratic norms in their activity, to strengthen party and state discipline, to struggle against bureaucratism, and to verify the execution of party and soviet directives.

62. The work of party groups in nonparty organizations is led by the corresponding party organs: the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the union republic Communist Party Central Committee, the party kraykom, obkom, okruzhkom, gorkom, and raykom.

## VIII. THE PARTY AND THE KOMSOMOL

63. The All-Union Lenin Komsomol is an independently functioning sociopolitical youth organization which is an active assistant and reserve of the party. The Komsomol helps the party to educate young people in the spirit of communism, to involve them in the practical building of a new society and the management of state and public affairs, and to mold a generation of comprehensively developed people.

64. The Komsomol organizations have the right of broad initiative in the discussion and submission to the appropriate party organizations of questions regarding the work of enterprises, kolkhozes, and institutions and participate directly in their resolution, especially where they concern the labor, life, training, and education of young people. The Komsomol organizations are

called upon to be active promoters of the party's goals in all spheres of production and public life.

65. The All-Union Komsomol works under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The work of the local organizations of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol is directed and controlled by the respective republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon party organizations.

The local party organs and the primary party organizations rely on the Komsomol organizations in work for the communist education of young people, support their useful initiatives, and give all-round assistance in their activity.

66. Members of the All-Union Komsomol who are admitted to the CPSU leave the Komsomol the moment they join the party unless they are members of elected Komsomol organs and are in Komsomol work.

#### IX. PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE ARMED FORCES

67. The party organizations of the Armed Forces are guided by the CPSU Program and Statutes in their activities and work on the basis of the instructions confirmed by the Central Committee. They ensure the implementation of party policy in the Armed Forces, rally their personnel around the Communist Party, educate servicemen in the spirit of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and selfless devotion to the socialist motherland, actively assist in consolidating the unity of the Army and the people, take care to increase the combat readiness of troops and strengthen military discipline, and mobilize personnel to fulfill tasks of combat and political training, to master new technology and weapons, and to irreproachably fulfill their military duties, orders, and instructions of the command.

68. The leadership of party work in the Armed Forces is carried out by the CPSU Central Committee through the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, which has the rights of a section of the CPSU Central Committee. The heads of the political directorates of districts and fleets and the heads of the political sections of armies, flotillas, and formations must have had 5 years' party membership.

69. The party organizations and political organs of the Armed Forces maintain close ties with the local party committees and inform them systematically about political work in military units. The secretaries of the military party organizations and leaders of the political organs participate in the work of local party committees.

#### X. PARTY FINANCES

70. The financial resources of the party and its organizations consist of membership dues, income from party enterprises, and other revenues.

The procedure for the utilization of the party's financial resources is determined by the CPSU Central Committee.

71. Monthly membership dues for party members and candidate members of the CPSU are as follows:

<u>Monthly Income (in rubles)</u>	<u>Dues</u>
Up to 70	10 kopeks
71 to 100	20 kopeks
101 to 150	1.0 percent of monthly income
151 to 200	1.5 percent of monthly income
201 to 250	2.0 percent of monthly income
251 to 300	2.5 percent of monthly income
Over 300	3.0 percent of monthly income

72. Joining fees of 2 percent of monthly income are paid on becoming a candidate member of the party.

/9599  
CSO: 1802/4-F

SPEECH BY M.S. GORBACHEV AT THE MEETING WITH THE COLLECTIVE OF THE SOFIA METAL-CUTTING MACHINE TOOLS PRODUCTION COMBINE 24 OCTOBER 1985

PM250925 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 85 (signed to press 4 Nov 85)  
pp 73-76

[Text] Dear comrades, I greet you cordially. I would like to convey all the depth and warmth of the international feelings which Soviet communists and Soviet people have toward the people of fraternal Bulgaria, and its tested vanguard--the BCP and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

It was with great satisfaction that I accepted the invitation to visit the Sofia metal-cutting machine-tools combine and to meet your collective, which is one of the foremost detachments of the Bulgarian working class. The working class, headed by the party of communists, is confidently leading Bulgaria along the path of the further blossoming of socialism, the aim of which is the well-being of man and peace. This, dear friends, is common path, uniting our countries and our peoples.

Recently I have had quite a few meetings with labor collectives, and wherever I have had conversations with workers and specialists, in Moscow and Leningrad, in the Ukraine, Siberia and Kazakhstan, everywhere people have ardently supported the CPSU's course to further strengthen friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries, and to guarantee a peaceful future for the planet.

These ideas have also been heard today here at the combine, at this meeting. Such meetings are inspiring, they instill fresh energy. They afford an opportunity to check the correctness of assessments and conclusions that we make. They reaffirm that the fundamental interests of our fraternal parties and peoples are indivisible.

Together, the Soviet Union and people's Bulgaria are building a new life. They are jointly defending peace in the international arena. Our resolve to continue to go arm in arm was reaffirmed by the talks with Comrade Zhivkov and other members of the Bulgarian leadership, held in the last few days.

We briefed each other about the progress of our countries' development, and in a comradely fashion, not avoiding the sticking points, as they say. We exchanged opinions on ways to overcome the difficulties which exist; we

discussed the common problems of the construction of socialism and communism at the contemporary stage.

One can understand the importance of a systematic mutual exchange of opinions and experience. This is especially important today, when our parties are preparing for their regular congresses.

What do the Soviet Communists have in mind as they approach the 27th Congress?

The CPSU as its premise that the period requires decisive improvement in things in all areas and a qualitative change in the conditions of the labor and life of Soviet people. Our plans and the course towards acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the country are subject to these aims.

Our party puts first the task of substantially enhancing the efficiency of the economy, on the basis of its intensification and more vigorous utilization of the achievements of scientific-technological progress. With this aim, it is planned to further improve management and the economic mechanism, and the structure of capital investment, and to increase the rate of development of machine-building, the chemicals, electronics, electrical engineering and a number of other most important sectors of the national economy. As result, by the beginning of the next century the Soviet Union can build a production potential equal in scale to that which has been built up in the preceding almost 70 years of Soviet power. Over 15 years the national income and volume of industrial production will double, and all this is to be done through increasing labor productivity.

We are talking decisive measures to improve usage of all that we already have. We are putting things in order, strengthening discipline, elevating the labor activity of the masses and their interest in all social transformations. In particular, we are persistently seeking the best ways and means of achieving scientific and technological progress as quickly as possible.

It is well-understood by you, machine-builders, that a steep upturn in production efficiency is only possible on the basis of technical retooling and wide use of front-ranking technology. This means that we have to create the conditions which will make all links of the economic mechanism work in this direction, from the central planning bodies to enterprises, from the directors to each specialist and worker.

In this respect, we are encouraging initiative and efficiency, and striving for the elimination of such phenomena as bureaucratism, red tape, departmentalism and parochialism, which it must be admitted, have turned out to be very tenacious. In short, life requires new approaches to the resolution of problems, and profound psychological restructuring at all levels. And this is, after all, one of the most difficult things to restructure.

We see successful resolution of the tasks facing our society, first and foremost, on the paths of active involvement in creative and enterprising work of each Soviet citizen and every labor collective.

We communists have undertaken a great project. We are building a new social system, supported by the living creativity of the people. The meaning of our work is the restructuring of social relations on the most humanistic principles, on the high values inherent in socialism. It is precisely these that should spur people on to conscientious work, to acquire the feeling of being the proprietor of one's state and to open up scope for development of talents and aptitudes of the individual in the interests of the common task.

The socialist countries have progressed far along this road and are rightly proud of their social gains: of the fact that all roads in life are open for our younger generation; that people do not fear being left without work or housing; without medical assistance and provision for old age; that the working person is involved in running the affairs of his collective and of all of society. This is not the case, and can not be, in any capitalist country, however much they vaunt the achievements of their bourgeois democracy.

While taking pride in what has been achieved, we shall do everything possible to ensure that the principles of socialism are implemented to the fullest possible extent and that the social and political rights granted by society to each of its members are filled with increasingly weighty content. Now, when mighty productive forces have been created in our countries, when qualified cadres have been trained and valuable experience has been accumulated, it is both possible and necessary to take a long stride forward. And the better we organize our interaction, the more reliable and faster this stride will become.

Our fraternal cooperation has a glorious history and fine traditions. It has been gaining in strength and developing, embracing ever new fields. Participating actively in it today are millions of people. Reciprocal trade has grown many times over, and higher forms of economic links have appeared and have asserted themselves.

New demands for the deepening of cooperation among the fraternal countries are being put forward by the maturity of our economies and by scientific and technological progress. The mastering of advanced technology is impossible without concentrating material and intellectual resources and organizing them efficiently. To put it simply, each country taken individually will not rise to this on the proper scale, or will, at least, lose time. And time today is the decisive factor. That is why joint efforts are so important, joint efforts apportioned correctly and skillfully, which take into account the experience and potential of each participant. Production specialization and coordination are in the forefront.

At the CEMA economic conference in Moscow last year and at subsequent meetings of the leaders of the fraternal countries, the chief directions of such work for the forthcoming period were defined. A corresponding guideline has been put as the basis of multilateral agreements in the sphere of microelectronics and robot production, and of the bilateral Soviet-Bulgarian program of economic, scientific and technological cooperation up to the year 2000.

Here are needed more efficient, more bold and flexible method of cooperation. Yesterday an intergovernmental agreement was signed to set up two Soviet-

Bulgarian scientific production associations. Taking part in one of them, together with Soviet machine tool builders from Ivanovo, is your combine. I think that this is a promising form of cooperation.

Like any new undertaking, an international, scientific production association needs attention and support from the central committees of the fraternal parties and governments, and form many ministries and departments. Of course, it is mainly up to those who are directly involved in creating the output so needed by the national economies of our countries. It is up to the workers and specialists.

From your own experience you know very well that specialization and cooperation in production require constantly high technical level, excellence quality and reliability of output. They are also inconceivable without strict observance of a good production rhythm and reciprocal deliveries. Your Soviet colleagues in Ivanovo are getting themselves geared up to do everything necessary to maintain a high standard for timely output.

Dear comrades, we have to solve the multifarious creative tasks and build a new world not in the sterile conditions of a scientific laboratory, but while overcoming real contradictions of life, in conditions of complicated and at times, explosive international situation.

Take, for example, the 40 years that have passed since the war. Have we had even a short period when we have been able to get on with our business in peace? No. they have used atom bombs, cruise missiles and now space weapons to frighten us. How much effort, resources and labor have we been obligated to expend in order to defend the sacred right of our peoples to make their own way in life.

And today also we must not weaken or let our vigilance become dulled. The situation in the world continues to remain tense. The threat of war has not retreated. History has laid a particular responsibility on the socialist countries. Indeed, there is no other so mighty a force which is capable of restraining the aggressive circles of imperialism and preventing them from pushing mankind into the abyss of nuclear war.

It is quite understandable that this capability depends on the united defense potential of the fraternal countries, on how deeply and accurately the developing world situation is assessed, on how correctly policy guidelines are drawn up and on how persistently and consistently the planned course is implemented. The conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member, which has taken place in Sofia made a major contribution to the solution of all of these tasks.

The statement of the Warsaw Pact members gives clear replies to the questions of how our countries regard the current situation in the world and what in their opinion must be done. The ideas in this important political document no doubt will find a lively response among the peoples of Europe and other continents. I would like to hope that it will be read attentively by Western politicians. Today, no one has the right to avoid solving the main question: How will matters proceed in the world arena? Either an escalation of the arms

race and its transfer to space, or a sharp reduction in military arsenals and an improvement of the entire international climate?

On behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Soviet people, I can say firmly that nobody will ever make us accept the madness of the arms race and the idea of the inevitability of war!

Together with Bulgaria and the other socialist countries and all peace-loving peoples, the Soviet Union will persistently defend peace, devoting all its thoughts and deeds to the great and noble cause of creative work, in which we see the highest meaning of human life.

Allow me yet again to thank you, dear comrades, for the cordial, and warm encounter.

To commemorate it I should like to present your collective with a bust of V.I. Lenin.

Vladimir Illich highly appreciated the activity of the Bulgarian left-wing socialist revolutionaries. He believed in the enormous revolutionary potential of the Bulgarian people. Today's socialist Bulgaria is one of the convincing proofs of Lenin's genius for foreseeing the march of history.

With all my heart I wish you, dear friends, successes in work, prosperity and happiness in your life. All the best to you.

May friendship and brotherhood strengthen between the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples, and between our communist parties. This is our great common achievement and the fruit of the work and effort of many generations of the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples.

Long live socialism and peace! (sustained applause).

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## CONSULTING WITH THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE

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pp 77-92

[Article by Ye. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Uppercase passages published in italics]

[Text] The October (1985) Central Committee plenum opened up a new and more responsible stage in the party's preparations for its regular congress.

The most important theoretical and political documents-- the draft edition of the CPSU Program, the changes in the CPSU Program, the Basic Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development for the Years 1986-1990 and for the Period to 2000--have been submitted for all-party, nationwide discussion. Thus, the party has decided, according to the traditions which have grown up, to take counsel with the people on the fundamental questions of the development of the economy and of its domestic and foreign policy. This underlines the role of the popular masses in the construction of the new society as well as the profoundly democratic nature of the Soviet state.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum, the adopted resolution, the report by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and the speeches by Central Committee members profoundly and comprehensively characterize all three party documents, in which the party's political and economic strategy is set out, and outline the basic directions of the party organizations' activity in explaining them and in making worthy preparations for the 27th congress. The CPSU Congress Politburo has determined the system of propagandizing them.

The most active role here is assigned to party and workers meetings and to our press, radio and television. What is involved is that they should fulfill their functions of collective organizer in exemplary fashion, and that they make full use of consultations with the entire party and all the people to accumulate the valuable experience and practical proposals of Soviet people and to raise their work and sociopolitical activeness. As M.S. Gorbachev stressed at the plenum, the most urgent practical and political task is to conclude both this year and the 5-Year Plan as a whole with the best results, and to make worthy preparations for the 27th congress of our Leninist party.

As is known, the precongress documents are distinguished by a number of peculiar features. First and foremost, the actual methods of their preparation are significant. Many party committees, scientific and academic institutions of the party, ministries and departments actively participated in preparing them. Labor collectives and local party, soviet and social organizations were involved in developing the Basic Directions and the plan tasks for the 12th 5-Year Plan period. A careful study was made of the numerous wishes and proposals by communists and nonparty people, which they expressed in letters to the CPSU Central Committee and the central press organs. For example, about 5,000 of them were received about the Statute alone. Account was taken of the rich experience of fraternal parties of the socialist parties in leading the economy and in organizational and political work among the masses.

On numerous occasions the members of the CPSU Central Committee program commission discussed and carefully weighed up each principled premises of the new edition. There are thus all the ground to state that the preparation of our all-party documents was conducted on a broad democratic basis.

In the course of this work it became necessary to solve a number of important tasks raised by social practice and life itself. This applies primarily to the draft new edition of the CPSU Program. Highly complex questions of both a theoretical and a political nature arose in its preparation. In its search for correct, thoroughly argumented answers to them the Central Committee was guided by Lenin's instructions directly concerning what the party Program ought to be. According to Lenin's thinking, it should accurately formulate our basic views and long-term political goals, and it should be a clear and precise exposition of what the party will be fighting for in the foreseeable period. Lenin resolutely refuted voluntarism and scheming in such a fundamentally important question as that of determining the party's program aims. "And if we make the slightest claims to that which we cannot produce, this will weaken the force of our program," he emphasized. "They (the party members and all working people--Y.E.L) will suspect that our program is mere fantasy. A program is a characterization of what we have started to do and of the next steps that we want to take." (Complete Collected Works, vol 36, p 66)

As a whole, the document which has been submitted for nationwide discussion corresponds to these Leninist demands. It is based on Marxist-Leninist demands. It is based on Marxist-Leninist theory and on realistic analysis of the processes occurring within the country and in the international arena, and it provides a clear, well-developed characterization of the strategic directions of the work of party and people and of the tasks of perfecting socialism, proceeding from the communist perspective on the country's development.

In propagandizing and discussing the draft new edition of the program, it is important constantly to bear in mind the continuity of the fundamental theoretical and political aims of the CPSU, and of its general line. The draft approved by the October Plenum preserves the fundamental premises of the current third party Program, and it is precisely for this reason that it

should be considered, with full justification, the new edition of the CPSU Program.

This point is of principled significance, as the October plenum stressed. Life has confirmed the correctness of the basic premises of the third, current program. In fulfilling this program the party has advanced far forward in all directions of communists construction. Despite the fact that, due to a number of objective and subjective reasons, it has not been possible to resolve certain social questions in the established time-spans, our successes convincingly refute the conjectures of imperialist propaganda according to which the third program has not worked and we have been forced to renounce it.

Today socialism possesses enormous economic and intellectual potential. A unified national economic complex has been formed in the USSR. Large new regions in the north and east of our motherland have been developed in unprecedentedly short spaces of time. Here are just a few facts and figures which attest to our country's achievements in less than quarter of a century since the adoption of the third program. In this same period industrial production will rise by 4.8 times, and social labor productivity by 3.2 times.

The level of the national welfare has substantially risen and an enormous volume of housing construction has been fulfilled. Per capita real earnings have increased by 2.5 times and about 267 million people have improved their housing conditions.

The people's spiritual wealth has been augmented, there has been a shift to universal secondary education and Soviet science and technology have achieved outstanding successes. Socialist social relations have been consolidated. Socialist democracy has been further developed and socialist legality has been strengthened.

Let us also recall another point. We set about implementing the program adopted by the 12th congress in a complex international situation. At that time there was no military-strategic parity between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO bloc. Despite the sometimes complex development of events and the numerous provocations by imperialism, it has been possible in a quarter of a century to achieve a change in the correlation of forces in the international arena in favor of socialism and to prevent the aggressive forces from pushing the world into the abyss of war. An approximate military-strategic balance has formed between the USSR and the United States. This is a truly historic achievement of real socialism, which makes it possible, as the new edition of the CPSU Program stresses, "to preserve and consolidate peace and to curb the forces of aggression and militarism for the sake of the lives of present and future generations." To put it briefly, the successes in implementing the important sections of the third program are irrefutable.

The new edition of the CPSU Program convincingly reveals the socioeconomic, political, ideological and moral advantages of socialism over capitalism. In objectively evaluating what has been achieved, we also speak frankly today about existing shortcomings and errors. Some people abroad, gambling on the self-criticism which is completely natural for communists, are not above interpreting it as a recognition of the invalidity of the long-term plans and

a negation of our historic achievements. The absurdity of such assertions are perfectly obvious to a Soviet person.

Have we become weaker because people spoke from the rostrum of the April (1985) Central Committee plenum about the state of affairs in the country? Of course not! People have pulled up, they are taking a more irreconcilable attitude to shortcomings, and active work is going on everywhere. The political situation in the country is stable and the people's mood is elated and militant. The acute and bold manner in which we are subjecting everything that hinders forward movement to criticism is a manifestation of our strength and our firm confidence in the attainability of the goals outlined by the party. And there is thus full justification for the fact that the new edition of the program notes not only the achievements of socialism but also the unfavorable tendencies and difficulties which have arisen in the seventies and the start of the eighties.

The October CPSU Central Committee plenum also paid attention to the fact that the new edition takes full account of all that has enriched our sociopolitical practice and theoretical thought. On the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis the party has developed a line of accelerating the country's socioeconomic practice and theoretical thought. On the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis the party has developed a line of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. Comrade M.S. Gorbachev noted that the concept of acceleration is the core of all three precongress documents. This is one of the most important features of the new edition of the party program.

Today the party understands more deeply than ever before the impermissibility of rushing ahead, of jumping over historically necessary stages of social progress, and of introducing communist principles and formula without taking account of the material and spiritual maturity of society. At the same time, the party is a resolute opponent of artificially restraining the development of society and of making time.

The draft new edition of the program emphasizes that we are holding firmly and consistently to our course toward socialism. The party proceeds from the fact that socialism and communism are two successive phases in the single communist social formation.

And while solving current tasks connected with comprehensively perfecting developed socialism we must not and have no right to forget even for a minute about the communist future. It is necessary to bear in mind that revealing the advantages of socialism ever more fully, perfecting it, and strengthening the general communist principles inherent in it essentially means the real progress of society toward communism.

In comparison with the current program, a number of important new premises have been fixed in the draft of its new edition; on the planned and comprehensive perfecting of socialism; on ways of shifting to an intensification of the economy and on perfecting the system of management and of relations of distribution; on effacing social class differences, solving the national question, and forming a new historical community--that of the

Soviet people,; and on socialist self-government and the prospects for its gradual growth into communist social self-government.

And I think that it is important to draw attention to another feature of the draft new edition of the CPSU Program. There is no excessive detail in it. The main emphasis is placed on the strategic directions of party work. As far as the concrete quantitative parameters of socioeconomic development are concerned, these will be reflected in decisions, in the 5-year plans and in other all-party and state documents.

In the exposition of the party's economic strategy and of questions of the development of the material-technical base it is not the branch-related approach which predominates, as previously, but the problem-related approach. The task is advanced of achieving the world's highest world level of social labor productivity and of doubling, by the end of this century, the country's production potential. Placed at the center of the economic strategy are the cardinal acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the new technical reconstruction of the national economy, the deep structural reorganization of social production, consistent intensification of it, and the perfecting of the system of management, of investment policy, of methods of economic operations and of the relations of distribution. These are precisely the problems which the party is working on in the sphere of the economy, on the main bridgehead of the struggle for communism.

The shift from an evolutionary to a revolutionary path of scientific-technical progress is included in the program. There are a considerable number of examples of the development of fundamentally new equipment and technology by Soviet designers and scientists. One such example is the rotary conveyor line which increases labor productivity many times over. But in most cases the predominating approach is one which ensures only a partial improvement of existing equipment. The CPSU Central Committee recently carried out a control examination of the work of ministries in improving the technical standard of internal combustion engines. It was revealed that a number of diesel and gasoline engines are inferior to the best analogues in their economy and life. The CPSU Central Committee demanded that the leaders of the ministries of the automobile industry and of tractor and agricultural machine-building fundamentally reorganize branch science and the design organizations, and that they concentrate their efforts on developing new models of equipment based on major scientific discoveries.

The party's social policy is regarded in the draft as a powerful means of accelerating the country's economic development and of increasing the work and sociopolitical activeness of the masses, and also as an important factor in the political stability of society, in the formation of a new person, and in the establishment of the socialist way of life.

The new edition of the program places particular emphasis on implementing the principle of social justice. It may seem as if the prospects for increasing the national welfare which are outlined in the new edition are somewhat more modest than those in the current program. However, the proposed draft is distinguished primarily by its realism and by its objective evaluation of society's economic potential and of the prospects for perfecting production

relations. An increase in the national welfare will occur in strict accordance with the achieved level of the development of production forces and with the growth in the national income, that is, in accordance with the volume and quality of work of all members of society.

The program defines the CPSU's tasks in developing the political system of Soviet society, in further perfecting democracy, and in implementing the people's socialist self-government to an increasingly full extent. The draft new edition of the program restores, establishes and enriches the Leninist concept of self-government in application to contemporary conditions. What is involved is the socialist self-government of the people. It has nothing in common with the anarcho-syndicalist version of self-government, which is opposed to socialist statehood, based on group ownership and which pursues only group interests. Our party condemned anarcho-syndicalism long ago. Socialist self-government of the people is founded on social ownership and combines within itself state, collective and personal interests.

Self-government in the Leninist sense consists in government not only in the interests of the working people but by the working people themselves. Under socialism the people's self-government is conducted through the state, and primarily through the soviets and the related forms of direct democracy: elections, nationwide discussions, the spread of publicity and the involvement of working people in developing and making state decisions. It is important here to make full use of the broad opportunities opened up for this by the Law on Labor Collectives. An inseparable part of the self-government of our people is the activity of trade unions, the Komsomol and various voluntary associations of working people.

The section of the draft new edition of the CPSU Program on the party's tasks in the sphere of ideology, education, science and culture consolidates the approach based on the Leninist tradition, which requires that in propaganda and agitation and in educational and enlightening activity a more sober and practical postulation of questions be persistently sought.

In essence, what is involved is overcoming formalism and didacticism, as well as unconcern about manifestations of alien ideology and morality, in all sectors of education and propaganda, and also firmly establishing everywhere a broad view of ideological work as the most important means of activating the human factor.

The new edition of the program provides an analysis from a Marxist-Leninist position of the contemporary world picture and of the class struggle in the international arena, it reveals the nature and interrelationship of the basic conflicting forces there, and it defines the main directions and goals of CPSU international policy. The draft shows the advantages of real socialism more fully and convincingly and lays bare the reactionary, antinational essence of the policy and ideology of imperialism.

In characterizing the contemporary epoch; the current program indicates three main forces of world social progress, which are real socialism, the workers and communist movement and the peoples of the liberated countries. In the new edition, mass democratic movements are added to these. The fact is that in

recent years these movements have acquired great scope and have become an important factor in political life and is impossible not to take account of this.

The draft new edition of the program stresses that the historical argument between the two opposing social systems into which the world is divided can and must be solved in a peaceful manner. The CPSU sees the supreme task as being to prevent a world war and to save mankind from nuclear catastrophe. Socialism proves its advantages not by force of arms but by force of example. This thesis is assigned paramount importance in the section devoted to our interrelationships with the capitalist countries. It removes the ground from under the feet of those who hold forth demagogically on the "Soviet threat" and the "expansion of communism."

Those, briefly, are the most essential features of the third party program in its present edition, a program of planned and comprehensive perfecting of socialism which has been built in our country, of the further advance of Soviet society toward communism on the basis of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, and of the struggle for peace and social progress.

Together with the draft new edition of its program the party also promulgated another important document, which is the proposal for changes to the CPSU Statute. The party statute is a powerful instrument for organizing the party masses and for implementing the program goals. The proposed changes fully correspond to the premises of the draft new edition of the CPSU Program. The Leninist organizational principles of the structure, life and activity of the party remain firmly within the statute. At the same time, provisions concerning questions of CPSU membership, the vanguard role of communists, and the principle of democratic centralism are further developed. The obligations and rights of party members and also the provisions connected with strengthening discipline in the party ranks and developing internal party democracy are substantially supplemented.

First place is assigned to the requirement that every party member is obliged to conduct the CPSU's general line in practice and to organize working people for the implementation of this policy, that is, to be an active political fighter for the Party's cause. The party member's obligation to strictly observe the norms of communist morality and to establish the principle of justice which is inherent in socialism is formulated in a developed form. Additional measures are stipulated which ensure the admittance of the most worthy people in the party on the basis of individual selection. The practice of admittance into the party mainly at open meetings is consolidated.

The provisions on intensifying the responsibility borne by communists, including communist leaders, to primary party organizations for misdemeanors committed by them will be of important significance for strengthening party discipline. This system is being asserted everywhere in the party and it has to be fixed in the statute, as has also the directive, developed while Lenin was still alive, on the double responsibility of the communist--to the party and state--if he violates Soviet laws..

A number of changes are aimed at developing the activeness of primary party organizations. To be specific, it is proposed that is be written into the Statute that they participate directly in conducted cadre policy.

It is planned to include in the statute a considerable amount of what has justified itself in practice. Thus, for a number of years open voting has been used in elections in party groups, of which there are more than 700,000 in the party. Taking into account this experience and locally made proposals, it is planned to extend this practice to primary and workshop party organizations numbering less than 15 CPSU members. The communists in these organizations will decide themselves by which kind of voting--open or secret--elections will be conducted. All questions except those of elections are now resolved by open voting in party organizations.

It is imagined that the conditions are being formed in the party for a gradual introduction of open voting at elections, too. This will promote the establishment of a frank and principled attitude in the relations between communists. The statute establishes new timespans for conducting communist meetings, accountability report meetings, and elections within the primary party organizations. This is done in order to provide an opportunity for making more thorough preparations for meetings and for freeing time for practical work.

Questions of mutual relations with state and social organizations and of developing the activeness of these relations acquire increasing significance in proportion to the further deepening of socialist democracy. This is also reflected in the draft changes in the CPSU Statute. The basic principles and forms of party leadership of state and social organizations are expounded in it in a more developed manner. It is proposed that provisions be included in the statute which are intended to improve party leadership of the Komsomol and to intensify the responsibility for the assigned task and the creative activeness of all communists and at increasing the leading role of the CPSU in socialist society.

The Draft Basic Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development for the years 1986-90 and for the period to 2000 is closely joined to the CPSU Program, it concretizes the program's provisions, and it translates them into the language of directive plan indices. In its principled orientation, in the tasks which it sets, and in its methods of solving them, the draft fully corresponds to the economic policy developed by the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee plenum.

One of the fundamental national economic disproportion--the correlation between consumption and accumulation--was the subject of close attention in the course of the development of the draft Basic Directions. The tasks of accelerated development of the economy have called for a certain increase of the relative proportion of accumulation in the national income. This will make it possible to ensure the technical re-equipment and reconstruction of the existing production apparatus, to build up industrial potential more rapidly, to develop the social infrastructure in all its diversity and simultaneously to maintain our country's defense capability at the proper

level. At the same time, the implementation of a wide-scale social program will make it possible to increase real per capita income by 1.6 to 1.8 times.

A significant place in the Basic Directions is occupied by the projects relating to the next 5-year plan period. And this is understandable. After all, it is precisely their realization which is expected to initiate the implementation of the course adopted by the party of accelerating society's economic and social development. Of decisive importance as well as the output of all branches of material production is to be obtained entirely through an increase in labor productivity. A marked decrease in the material-intensiveness of production is envisaged, which is very important in conditions where the economy gained from some addition to resources--up until now customarily considered only an addition--is becoming the basic source of satisfying the growing social requirements for fuel, metal and many other types of raw material resources. Particular attention is devoted to the technical re-equipment and reconstruction of existing enterprises.

Priority development is being received by the machine-building complex and such of its basic branches as the machine-tool-building, instrument-making, electrical engineering and electronics industries.

Further strengthening of the material-technical base of agriculture is planned in the draft. The delivery of the basic types of equipment to the villages is planned in accordance with the Food Program.

The task is advanced of fundamentally improving capital construction, of considerably increasing the quality and lowering the cost of newly completed buildings and of reducing by 1.5 to 2 times the time taken to construct new installations and reconstruct existing ones.

In order for the complex national economic mechanism to work uninterruptedly and efficiently it will be necessary to develop the branches of the production infrastructure at accelerated rates and to raise them to a new technical level, these branches being transport, the electrical, oil and gas supply, communications, information services and storekeeping.

It is planned to ensure the harmonious economic and social development of all the union republics, to increase the role of local organs of Soviet power and of the economic administration in satisfying the material and cultural needs of the populations of corresponding regions and to increase their responsibility for doing so.

It should be noted that there has perhaps been no analogous document in the past that has been the subject of such painstaking study as they present project has. First and foremost, firmness and resolution were displayed in opposing those leaders who, following previously established patterns, strove to gain greater resources and smaller plans from the state. In conducting this line, the CPSU Central Committee relied on the central departments and primarily on the labor collectives and the active support of local party organizations. As always, the press, television and radio broadcasting provide invaluable assistance to the party organizations in seeking reserves for increasing the efficiency of social production, for the growth of labor

productivity and for economy and rational utilization of labor, fuel-energy and mineral-raw material resources.

## II

Nationwide discussion of the documents of the forthcoming party congress is a political campaign of particular importance. The participation of all strata of the population in this campaign will make it possible to more precisely determine the prospects for the country's development and to raise the level of the interested, aware and creative attitude of millions of people to the affairs of the party and the socialist fatherland. The campaign represents one more large step on the road of the consistent developing and putting into practice the policy of the Communist Party and Soviet state and will serve further strengthening the party's ties with the masses and intensifying its leading role.

The discussion of the precongress documents provides an opportunity to graphically demonstrate to the entire world the irrefutable advantages of socialism against the background of the incurable defects of capitalism. There is a great amount of work to be done in this area by the mass information and propaganda media.

A considerable number of interesting approaches to highlighting topical problems of social development were embodied in materials in the newspaper PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in the first days after publication of the party's precongress documents. However, there is much unused potential here.

The task is that each press organ, television and radio should, taking into account their specific nature, publicize profoundly analytical material which reveals to Soviet and foreign readers, viewers and listeners the advantages of the socialist ways of life and at the same time lay bare the ills of capitalism and the crude violation of human rights in capitalist countries.

The mass information media possess the necessary potential for effective explanation of our domestic and foreign policy both within the country and abroad. It stands to reason that this effectiveness must not have a negative effect on the ideological content and quality of propaganda material. Events which attract heightened attention from people as well as the complex phenomena of social life must be elucidated only from a class position, from the position, from the position of Marxism-Leninism.

In asserting the socialist ways of life, it is necessary to rely more on the patriotic mood of our people and to more fully express their point of view on the most burning issues in the press. In connection with this, I want to cite a letter from a young worker in Grodno: "I work, and my conscience will not allow me to ask my mother for money for new clothes. I have become accustomed to do everything by myself, I like to live and to enjoy life, in spring I shall join the army and be a defender of the motherland. And it is our only one! But what about the philistinism which is creeping out of every hole? What about the "thing-ism" (Veshchism)? Where are the effective measures? Where is the healthy influence of our way of life? Where is the good music,

and not the wailing of the song "wear masks"? Let me be considered old-fashioned, but I will not submit, I shall struggle against philistinism and everything bad. I will not betray myself.

The letter sounds of concern and resolution to struggle for that which unites society's spiritual life. It is necessary to strive to make all the propaganda and information media, all central and local newspapers, and the editorial staff of television and radio be distinguished by the same readiness to struggle against bourgeois influences which are alien to our ideology and morality, and most importantly, to make them capable of conducting such work in a qualified manner. There is a great field of activity here for party organizations and for the party's ideological cadres.

Discussion of the precongress documents is grounds for talking thoroughly and constructively in every labor collective about the key questions which determine the CPSU's program aims, strategy and tactics, and for this reason it is impossible to allow this discussion to be conducted in an atmosphere of mere show. It is important to lend it the constructive and creative character which was introduced into our life by the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee plenum, a plenum which has already turned many things in a new direction. The Central Committee's line of resolutely overcoming everything that has become obsolete and that hinders society's forward movement enjoys the undivided support of the people. It will be necessary to continue to consistently conduct this line. However, in this connection it should be borne in mind that there are people, including leading workers, who only pretend that they have reformed, but who in fact continue to work in the old way, without initiative and guided by one rule: whatever turns out. Such leaders are subjected to just criticism in the works of poetry recently published in the PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA newspapers.

The labor collective and its purest cells--the sector and the brigade, the farm and the laboratory--will become the center of work to explain party policy and our tasks. The fate of plans is decided here, and it is from here that the national economy derives the main reserves of its growth. It is no accident that a highly organized work process is regarded in the draft new edition of the CPSU Program as the reliable foundations of communist education. It is precisely to here, to the labor collective, that every party and Soviet worker, economic leader, lecturer, propagandist and representative of the creative intelligentsia must now know his way particularly well.

It is the obligation of all who bear responsibility for the moral atmosphere in the collective--from director to brigade-leader--to assert the authority of honest, conscientious work in every way possible. It must be stated directly that communists and nonparty people--honest and conscientious workers--speak with bitterness and anger about manifestations of economic immorality and lack of official conscientiousness and about the fact that in a number of sects of society in recent years socialist work discipline has weakened, responsibility for the assigned task has decreased and negative phenomena such as drunkenness, embezzlement and bribe-taking have spread, while in a number of republics and oblasts serious shortcomings have been revealed in the style of party and state work. It was at this time, by the way, that such phrases as "unfinished" or "incomplete work", "incomplete deliveries,"

"underfulfillment", and so on entered currency, smoothing over the state of affairs and hushing up failures in work. The economic and moral cost of such phenomena is obvious. The party has begun a merciless struggle against them with the broadest support of the party. It stands to reason that in this struggle it is impossible to avoid relying on our ideological cadres and on the mass information and propaganda media.

It must be said that positive changes are occurring in the organization and style of ideological work. But there also remains a considerable number of unsolved problems. What is it that cadres engaged in this sector of work lack more than anything else today? I think I will not be mistaken if I say that it is a practical attitude and also the ability and resolution to ensure a real turn toward living organizational and educational work.

Formalism, which is nurtured by an almost magical faith in the omnipotence of paper, is a major shortcoming of ideological-educational activity. "WE ARE BEING SUCKED", Lenin sounded the alarm, "into a vile bureaucratic morass of writing our pieces of paper, of talking about decrees and of writing decrees and living work is drowning in this sea of paper." (Complete Collected Works, vol 44, p 364). Meanwhile in some party committees the value of a worker is determined even today not by his ability to think boldly, to act energetically, and to bring a task to its conclusion once it is begun, but by his skills in pronouncing "smooth" speeches and in composing certificates and other papers.

Individual work with people requires decisive improvement. It is time to fully recognize that this work is not at all some sort of appendage to the mass forms of ideological and propaganda activity, but in fact the very method of political and educational influence which must be given priority in the labor collective. Unfortunately, this is not so at the moment. Some leaders still agree to speak from the rostrum, but when it comes to going into the collective and conversing with people tete-a-tete, as they say, they do nothing of the sort: They are not up to it. Is this not the reason why the unified political day, which has become popular with the people, is in places being gradually transformed from a recognized form of live communication with working people into simply an additional lecture day?

It is necessary for all levels of leaders to constantly meet working people, study their attitude and reaction to party and government decisions, answer questions which arise in a timely and well-argumented manner and most importantly, resolve them in good time.

The course adopted by the party of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development touches on all spheres of life, whether it is the economy, the education of the individual, the development of social democracy or the formation of various demands that is involved. This interconnection is organic to such an extent that a lag in any sector can seriously brake forward movement. This is why in directing the efforts of party and social organizations, of soviets, of economic organs, and of labor collectives toward strengthening discipline and organization, we have, as they say, made a concerned attack on such a social evil as drunkenness.

The mighty social movement for the eradication of drunkenness is gathering force and acquiring concrete organizational forms. Recently, at a founding conference in Moscow, the all-union voluntary society for the struggle for sobriety was formed. The interests of the matter require that organizations of this society be created more rapidly in rayons, towns, oblasts and republics and that its lowest cells be created in the labor collectives. It is necessary to lend their activity militancy from its first steps. Party, soviet and trade union organizations, as well as the press, television and radio must concern themselves with this.

It is already obvious that implementation of the measures planned by the party produces positive results. According to the estimates of the USSR Central Statistical Administration, the sale of alcoholic beverages decreased by 25 percent in the months June to September. The number of shops trading in wines and spirits dropped by 52 percent. The number of law violations connected with drunkenness decreased by 52 percent. All of this is the result not only of restrictive measures, but primarily of the conscious choice in favor of a sober way of life which millions of people have already made.

However, the changes which have occurred must not make us complacent. There are still people who nurse hopes of a return to the old ways. The work which has been started must be persistently and consistently continued, increasing the responsibility of leaders of all ranks for the moral-psychological atmosphere in the collectives, villages and rayons to fully renounce the consumption of alcoholic beverages should be actively supported. And the sooner this happens the better. Sobriety is peace and concord in the family and order at work.

In general, we should have a more attentive attitude to the positive experience of labor collectives which set about imposing order by themselves and achieve fairly good results. This can be said both of the sphere of everyday life and about production affairs. As an example I shall quote the instructive experience of a number of enterprises in Sverdlovsk Oblast in developing a movement of brigades working under the motto "The Collective's Guarantee is of Work and Social Discipline." The essence of the movement, which was born at the F.A. Merkulov Severskiy Pipe-making Plant, is that the workers in production brigades assume an obligation not to allow members of the collective to violate work discipline and social order. If some violation is nevertheless committed, the entire brigade assumes the moral and material responsibility for it. And this obligation is made voluntary by the workers.

In Sverdlovsk Oblast more than 232,000 workers in 328 enterprises now participate in the movement "The Collective's Guarantee is of Work and Social Discipline."

In all collectives which support the initiative losses of work time due to shirking and other violations have been significantly reduced and are, as a rule, lower than the average in the oblast. This movement is also spreading to many other enterprises in the country, of which I had occasion to be convinced while visiting the collective of the V.I. Lenin Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant production association. It is necessary to use the propaganda and agitation media to support this useful initiative in every way possible and to

involve more and more new masses of working people in the conscious struggle for order, discipline and organization, and against laxness and irresponsibility.

It must be borne in mind that the deep restructuring of work, begun by will of the party and based on objective and self-critical evaluation both of what has already been achieved and of what we intend to strive for in the near future cannot be confined to the economy alone, but must embrace all spheres of society's life. This is also true of the humanitarian spheres of knowledge, and primarily the social sciences, culture, literature and art. Meanwhile, this restructuring is progressing slowly and slackly for the moment in scientific institutions of culture, and in the creative unions. There is an obvious lack of an effective catalyst to accelerate these processes such as criticism and self-criticism has always been for communists.

It seems to have become inconvenient to subject the literary and theatrical works of individual authors not only to critical examination but even to any degree of exacting analysis. This, meanwhile, is of no advantage either to the authors themselves or to literature and art as a whole. And frankly speaking, it is not at all in accordance with the atmosphere of rigorous exactingness which has become established in society.

### III

As the October CPSU Central Committee pointed out: it is necessary to organically coordinate the propaganda and discussion of the program party documents with solving concrete current tasks and with the development of a socialist competition for worthy preparations for the forthcoming 27th CPSU Congress. The organizational and political work among the masses must today be subordinated to this.

The current economic year, and with it the 11th 5-year Plan period, are approaching their conclusion. Everything must be done to make the finish of this plan period a successful one end to make the economic results of the present year provide a good impetus to the new 5-Year Plan period.

Industry, which is the leading branch of our economy and which is overcoming the lag of the first months in 1985, is continuing to increase its rates. As is known, in the first quarter the growth in production amounted to a mere 2 percent, in the half-year to 3.1 percent, and in 10 months to 3.8 percent, with an annual task of 3.9 percent. There was an acceleration, but it is not at all simple to liquidate the apparently small remaining divergence. National economic dynamite are restrained by lag in the extraction of oil and in the production of rolled metal, chemical, products, and construction materials.

It is necessary to keep the work of the ministries and enterprises responsible for providing the country with this important products under constant control of party committees, the press, and the public. Particular attention should be paid to energy and transport. Definite shifts for the better have begun to show here. The railroad workers have made up their debt in transporting loads and are working according to the schedule of the annual plan.

The electric power stations are being provided with the necessary fuel stocks. It is necessary to maintain this rhythm and to increase efforts aimed at ensuring uninterrupted work by the entire national economy.

The realization of the outlines of the social section of the current year's plan will be of paramount economic-political importance. There is potential to fulfill the plan tasks for the most important consumer goods, in housing and everyday-cultural service construction, as well as for the other important indices which characterize the growth in the national welfare.

The agrarian sector of the socialist economy, and in particular the sphere of social livestock-breeding, have been and continue to be the object of the party's particular concern. In the current year 12 percent more feed has been prepared per head of cattle than last year. Production and purchases of meat, milk and eggs have increased.

The growth in the production and purchases of agricultural products has made it possible to improve the supply of certain food commodities to the population, including meat and milk. These positive shifts must be consolidated without fail, in order to move on with more confidence. There will have to be intensive work on conducting the wintering of cattle in an organized manner and on laying good foundations for a high harvest yield in the coming year.

Preparations for fulfillment of the 1986 plan tasks are developing at all levels--from the ministries to the enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and lowest production links--at the same time as the conclusion of the 11th 5-Year Plan period. The task is that in the first year of the 5-year plan period, each branch, the economy of each union republic and the national economic complex as a whole should already develop at rates which rigorously correspond to the Basic Directions. This is a point of principled importance.

Unfortunately, in the past--in the 10th and 11th 5-Year Plan periods--the annual plans of a number of oblasts often did not correspond to the outlines of the 5-year plans, and such an inconsistency began in the very first years. However, this was not a lesson to all leaders of ministries and departments, and attempts are already being made to establish deliberately low plans for the first year of the new 5-Year Plan. A similar picture is to be observed in the laying out of plans through each quarter is the the most favorable period for enterprises in terms of their provision with labor resources and transport.

Nevertheless, the volumes of planned production for the first quarter often amount to less than 25 percent of the annual planned volumes. One would have thought that this is unjustified from any point of view. Collectives which achieve the fulfillment of 26-27 percents of the annual task in the first quarter are undoubtedly in a more advantageous position. This approach to utilizing the plan as an effective lever for rapid growth of the economy deserves support of every kind.

Strictly following the course developed by the April (1985) Central Committee plenum and acting in a broad front, the party has set about implementing a program of accelerating scientific-technical progress in all sectors of the national economy. In a relatively short time large-scale measures have been adopted which are expected to play an important role in the intensification of social production.

The line of the April Central Committee plenum of further perfecting the economic mechanism and improving the management of the socialist economy is being put into practice. New methods of economic operations are being further developed, economic experiments in individual agro-industrial associations of the Russian Federation have been outlined and the organizational structure of management in the machine-building industry is being simplified.

All-union industrial associations are being abolished in the machine-building industries. The number of associations and enterprises working in the two-tier system of management will increase by four times. The number of scientific-production associations will rise. It stands to reason that all this will require a decisive improvement in the style of work. In these conditions it is extremely important that party committees are able to help economic cadres in a practical manner to get rid of all notice of and supporting a creative attitude and useful and bold initiatives on the part of management organs.

Large-scale measures to perfect the management of the country's agro-industrial complex will also have to be implemented in the immediate future. To this end, fundamentally new management organs will be created which exclude the duplication of functions many times over and also the petty overseeing of economic units and enterprises.

In the work to perfect production relations, the management system, and methods of economic operations, the main stress is laid upon carrying out measures which promoted the broadest development of the creative initiative of labor collectives and all working people. Strengthening in practice the centralized principle in the leadership of the economy, the party will ensure an increase in the role of the basic production link--the associations and enterprises--and will consistently conduct a line of expanding their rights and their economic independence and responsibility, and of intensifying their interest in achieving the best final results of national economic work. The entire system of measures being implemented and developed to perfect the economic mechanism, to strengthen the economic accountability-system, to improve management and to intensify the influence of economic levers and stimuli on the production process, is aimed precisely at this.

The principles of the economic accountability mechanism, which have good prospects and which have been verified by practice, are being widely introduced in a number of places. thus, at the beginning of this year, the M.V. Frunze Sumy Machine-Building Association transferred to an expanded reproduction self-financing system. Party committees and economic management organs as well as the mass information media should look more attentively at and investigate the specific features of such work, because it opens up

additional potential for obtaining the highest economic results with minimal expenditure of resources in every production enterprise.

Party committees, labor collectives and our cadres are setting about solving the responsible tasks placed before society by the party, with great interest. In point of fact, a collective search is being conducted for new, more effective forms and methods of organizational and political work among the masses.

The All-Union Correspondence Discussion Forum on Question of Economy and Thrift of Strengthening Discipline and Order in Production, which has been organized in the pages of the TRUD newspaper, has met with a lively response in the country. This initiative has been approved by the CPSU Central Committee, as is known. Such forms of work raise the authority of our press among working people and intensify its educational and organizational role. The more so since what is involved in this case is one of the cardinal questions of the further progress of our economy. If we are able to form an attitude to resource-saving which is that to the most important scientific-technical, plan-economic and production task, we will thus be able to put large additional reserves into operation.

I shall cite just one example. Not so long ago in Minsk I had occasion to become acquainted with the work of a gas filling station for automobiles. In the discussion which was held the specialists and drivers of motor transport vehicles persistently emphasized that this is extremely profitable not only economically but ecologically. The facts obtained by USSR Gosplan also speak of this. The conversion of only 1 million goods vehicles to compressed gas makes it possible to save about 10 million metric tons of motor fuel per annum, for the production of which 20 million metric tons of oil have to be extracted. And in this connection engine life is increased by 1.5 to 2 times. And finally, the atmosphere becomes considerably cleaner. In order to move this matter ahead more rapidly, a gas filling station was recently shown in Moscow to the first secretaries of party obkoms and kraykoms. It is important that press, television and radio all rivet the attention of the corresponding ministries and organizations on this question and help to accelerate the assimilation of this promising innovation.

Work in economizing is not only the rational utilization of raw and other materials, although this is important in itself. Intensification of the system of economizing primarily depends on where the funds intended for the renewal of existing production capabilities are directed, that is, on the nature of the investment policy conducted by us. This policy is expected to accelerate scientific-technical progress.

In the final analysis, economy is a gain of time. This gain can be obtained not only through a reduction in material-and energy-intensiveness, an increase in the resources of working and a rise in product quality, but also through strengthening propaganda to the problems of full utilization of work time has weakened. This must be decisively put right. The struggle for imposition of order everywhere and for implementation of the measures stipulated by certain resolutions adopted in 1983 on questions of strengthening social discipline

and responsibility must sound out loudly and clearly from the pages of our newspapers and journals and in television and radio broadcasts.

Questions of raising the cultural-technical level and professional qualifications of workers are today also in need of profound, interested analysis. The existing system of retraining them is insufficiently effective. Highly productive and complex equipment is frequently entrusted to inadequately trained people. Meanwhile there are enormous reserves for a growth in labor productivity and a rise in product quality concealed in the improvement of the utilization of this equipment. The interests of the accelerated development of the country's economy require that the mastery of new professional knowledge and the rise in the qualifications of workers in the sphere of material production be transformed into the cause of all working people, and that the introduction of the most progressive technological processes, of highly productive equipment, and of means of automation, be actively promoted.

The exacting, creative atmosphere which distinguishes the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress has also determined the nature of the accountability report and election campaign which is taking place in the party. At the majority of accountability report and election meetings in the primary party organizations there has been interested, profound discussion of unsolved problems, shortcomings and those concretely guilty of them have been subjected to sharp criticism, and practical measures to overcome bottlenecks in production and omissions in propaganda and organizational work have been jointly developed. It should be noted with satisfaction that the practical tone of the accountability report and election campaign, which is as it should be, has been set to a considerable extent by the press, television and radio.

The work of the meetings of primary party organizations was actively participated in by Politburo members, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, executives of the Central Committee apparatus, members of the bureaus and secretaries of the central committees of communist parties of the union republics, kraykoms, and obkoms, and by leaders of ministries and departments. At the same time, in the course of the accountability report and election campaign, cases are met with from time to time of meetings being poorly prepared and being conducted with a low attendance and activeness by communists. Attempts to conceal the heart of the matter behind general words and to load the blame for one's own shortcomings onto so-called objective causes are met with. An aspiration to carefully dole out criticism and self-criticism makes itself feel in places

The April Central Committee plenum stated loud and clear that no party organization and no worker can remain out of control. This premise is written into the new edition of the program. There must be no place where criticism is forbidden. Experience has shown that in those party organizations and ministries which have been beyond public criticism for a lengthy period, a considerable number of serious negative phenomena and all sorts of violations of the CPSU Statute, Soviet laws, and the norms of socialist morality have later been revealed.

It should be stressed with full certainty that criticism, including that in the press, must reflect the true state of affairs and be free of any distortions, just and constructive, and permeated with a concern to improve matters and strengthen our positions. Errors are particularly undesirable here. And should an error or inaccuracy be committed, it is necessary to have the courage to admit them. This has to be spoken about because some press organs sometimes deviate from the norms of journalistic ethics.

Lenin considered the honest admission and correction of mistakes to be a sign of a party's political maturity and strength. This is even more true of a ruling party. "A political party's attitude to its errors," Vladimir Ilich wrote, "is one of the most important and reliable criteria of the party's seriousness and of its fulfillment IN PRACTICE of its obligations to its CLASS and to the working MASSES. Open admission of an error, revelation of its causes, analysis of the situation which gave rise to it, and thoughtful discussion of means of correcting the error--that is the sign of a serious party, that is its fulfillment of its obligations, and that is the education and training of the CLASS, and later also the MASSES. (Complete Collected Works, Vol 41, pp 40-41) It is precisely this attitude to work and to the development of criticism and self-criticism, without which there can be no forward movement, that the CPSU asserts in its own ranks and in all sectors of social life. And for this reason the accountability report and election campaign must be accompanied everywhere by an increase in work and social activeness, it must lead to an improvement in the state of affairs in the collectives, and help to overcome the lag in the implementation of state plans and socialist obligations. Only thus can the Central Committee's basic demand on the conduct of accountability report sessions and elections in the party be fulfilled.

Now that the program party documents have been handed over for all-party, nationwide discussion, millions of communists and nonparty people are becoming involved in working on them. There is full justification for supposing that this discussion will be active, practical, and concrete, and that it will take the form of an interested exchange of opinions and a collective search for unused reserves to improve matters in all sectors of the economic activity and education on people. Profound assimilation of the essential substance of these documents will contribute to their study within the system of party and Komsomol studies and to the involvement of the entire party aktiv of ideological workers and scientist in this work.

The draft new edition of the party program, the changes in the CPSU Statute, and the Basic Directions of the development of the national economy will undoubtedly call forth a wave of responses, proposals, and letters. It is clear that alongside proposals of great state resonance, people will also pose completely concrete questions which will call for a rapid reaction and effective intervention. No useful thought and not even the "quietest" display

of interest in the task must run up against someone's indifference or remain unattended to. This is a principled question for us, a question of the authority of the party and Soviet state.

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## PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION FORCES OF THE FAR EAST

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[Article by V. Chichkanov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Scientific Center Economic Research Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] Upgrading the level of efficiency in economic management and economic intensification in the Far East are becoming particularly relevant and significant. This is due to the increased role played by the region in ensuring stable development rates in the country's development and its extremely rich mineral-raw material and biological resources. During the conference of the party and economic aktiv of Tyumen and Tomsk oblasts, Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized that "The accelerated development of production forces in Siberia and the Far East is an important component of the party's economic strategy." The same thought is included in the draft of the new edition of the CPSU program. Today it is simply impossible to resolve the region's topical economic problems without science and scientific and technical progress. That is precisely why the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Scientific Center and the party and economic organizations are jointly developing the "Far East" comprehensive program program for the development of production forces.

### I

The Far East is one of the most distinctive yet insufficiently studied parts of the country. Natural resources are the base of its economic development. Substantial mineral-raw material and biological resources are concentrated here, of not only regional but national economic importance by virtue of such concentration and, in a number of cases, lack of competing alternatives in other areas. The effectiveness of these resources is quite high and capable of meeting most of the country's needs for a number of products. Today the Far Eastern region accounts for a considerable percentage of the fish catch. Here timber is procured and gold, silver, zinc, lead and tin are extracted. Its ore-minding industry is producing high-grade zinc concentrate. The Far East accounts for one-seventh of the country's pelt production. The area has been traditionally famous for its honey and medicinal plants, which include the unique ginseng and eleutherococca.

Despite the greatly increased economic potential and the considerable progress made in the study of the natural resources and features of the Far East, known and prognosticated mineral deposits indicate the existence of huge and as yet unused reserves. More than 70 different types of minerals have been identified in the Far East. They include deposits of ferrous and precious metals and raw materials for ferrous metallurgy, chemical fertilizers, the construction materials industry and ore-chemical production. The area contains deposits of all basic types of fuel and energy resources: coal, petroleum, natural gas, hydraulic, wind and solar. Its distinguishing features include large reserves of geothermal energy. The forecast resources of geothermal energy in the volcanic areas of Kamchatka Oblast and the Kuril Archipelago would warrant the building of powerful electric power plants. The Pauzhetskaya Geothermal Power Station, the only one of its kind in our country, is already operating in Kamchatka. Nonconventional energy sources play a major role. For example, the bays of the Sea of Okhotsk include some of the best areas for the construction of tide-powered electric power stations in the world.

The importance of the timber resources of the Far East is exceptionally great for the area's regional complex and the country at large. They account for 26 percent of timber reserves consisting, as a rule, of valuable species; 140 varieties of nutritional plants grow here, the overall biological resources of which are assessed at 250,000 tons, in addition to about 1,000 medicinal plants.

The most valuable of all natural resources of the Far East are biological. Under contemporary conditions they are assuming increasing importance. Their overall reserves within the 200-mile Far East Soviet zone are estimated at 25.8 million tons, of which fish account for 23 million. Biological resources in the open part of the Pacific Ocean are assessed at an additional 26 million tons, to which nearly 30 million tons of krill, found in the Pacific Ocean sector of Antarctica, should be added.

Natural resources are an important prerequisite for the economic development of the Far East. However, the specific nature of the area must be taken into consideration in analyzing and planning its development as part of the unified national economic complex of the USSR and as a basis for the solution of the socioeconomic problems in the eastern part of the country. Let us note, above all, that the area is still in the initial stage of its economic development and that no more than the first pages of the economic history of the Soviet Far East have been written. It is not only a question of the fact that the acquired economic potential and production capacities here are relatively modest in comparison to the country's scale. The specific natural economic potential of the area has been identified only partially. Thus, in terms of mineral and raw material resources, procurements of which are of exceptional importance to the national economy, forecast estimates exceed the volume of balance reserves by several hundred percent. The reason is the insufficient geological study of the territory and its individual resources.

This huge territory is exceptionally varied in terms of natural and climatic conditions. As a whole, however, extreme climatic conditions are its most

typical feature. Average annual temperatures are below zero, combined with widespread permafrost over four-fifths of its territory. The harshness of natural conditions determines the particular requirements governing the creation of industrial enterprises, cities and settlements, the development of a transportation network and the technical characteristics of machines and equipment in the Far East. Thus, at low temperatures the productivity of most types of equipment drops by a factor of 2 or 3, while many types of machines and mechanisms, unadapted to local conditions, become totally inoperative. Heating costs are higher, the season suitable for strip mining and navigation is shorter and the possibilities of agriculture are quite limited. Cost per kilometer of track in the Far East is considerably above the all-union indicator. Human life and activities under harsh natural and climatic conditions require higher manpower reproduction outlays.

The greatly differentiated natural and climatic conditions make the economic development of the Far East and its natural resources extremely heterogeneous. Equally distinct is the role which the individual territorial parts of the area play in the development of its natural resources. The most favorable conditions for human life and economic activities are found in the Amur and Maritime areas, where a considerable proportion of the population is concentrated and which account for one-third of the industrial output. A considerable economic potential has been accumulated here and these areas have become a rear base for the development of resources in the northern part of the Far East, which is significantly lagging behind the development of the southern areas and Amur Oblast. However, the future increase in the role played by the Far East in the development of the national economic complex of the USSR is linked precisely to the north of the Far East, considered the richest possible store of minerals in our country.

A higher share of extracting industries--some 30 percent--is a distinctive feature of Far Eastern industry. Local processing of extracted raw materials is virtually nil. They are hauled to the western parts of the country, which entails a number of negative consequences and losses, and greatly increases production costs.

As a whole, the area's industry consists of two parts of unequal value from the viewpoint of meeting national economic requirements: the first applies to specialization sectors (nonferrous metallurgy and the fishing and timber industries); the second is that of the few sectors which are only part of the area's economic potential. At the present time both have developed a substantial number of problems the solution of which depends on planned control and determines the increased efficiency of the entire regional economy within the unified national economic complex. Until recently, however, the need for the Far East, as an area for new development, to expand its construction complex and improve the organization of capital construction was insufficiently taken into consideration. In 1984, for instance, the ratio of unfinished construction to the volume of state capital investments in the Far Eastern economic region was 97 percent. Repair facilities, which can meet slightly over one-half of requirements, are weak, for which reason every year two-thirds of the construction equipment breaks down. Availability of construction materials and intraregional production items is low: 14 percent

for metal structures, 68 percent for bricks, 60 percent for carpentry goods, 18 percent for efficient heaters, and 83 percent for cement.

The development of the Far Eastern economy is paralleled by a steady and considerable increase in energy consumption. The overall volume of extraction and electric power production and generating of heat by TETs and boiler and heat-recovery systems has increased by a factor of 1.3 in 10 years. Nevertheless, the development of the electric power and fuel industries in the Far East remains short of increased requirements.

The coal industry is the foundation of the Far Eastern fuel and energy complex. Proven coal reserves alone are estimated at almost 13 billion tons, and forecast deposits higher by a factor of 15. A significant portion of the coal may be extracted most economically through open-pit mining. So far, however, the need for solid fuel is largely met through imports of Transbaykal and East Siberian coal. The reason for this situation is the lagging of survey and exploration operations and delayed construction and reconstruction of shafts and open pits. Thus, as much as 12 million tons of coal could be mined annually at the Bureya coal basin (Khabarov's' Kray), but production is at best lower by a factor of seven. There is essentially only one mine in operation in the basin, the Urgalskaya, and even it cannot be used at full capacity because of a reconstruction which has already taken more than 15 years. A similar situation is also characteristic of many coal enterprises in Maritime Kray and Amur and Sakhalin oblasts.

Nonferrous metallurgy is considered the backbone of the Far Eastern economy. Each ruble invested in this sector in the Northeast yields returns worth several rubles. However, much more could be obtained through the comprehensive utilization of the raw material and improvements in ore-extracting and processing technology on the basis of advanced scientific and technical achievements.

The comprehensive and efficient utilization of raw materials is turning into problem No 1 for the sector. The point is that many side components in nonferrous ores are worth more than the basic ones. For example, the ores treated at the Solnechnyy Ore-Mining and Concentration Combine contain more than 10 different components. Until recently only one of them was being extracted: tin. Another seven are being extracted currently. As a rule, most enterprises dump most valuable "side" elements. This is due to the lack of essentially new concentration and treatment technologies. Their use would substantially lower the cost of developing new deposits in the Far East through the intensified utilization of already exploited ores in the southern part of the area. The building of a chemical-metallurgical production facility at the Solnechnyy Ore-Mining and Concentration Combine would increase the extraction of the main component from the ore by one-quarter and provide additionally valuable side components. Capital investments for the construction of such a facility would be recovered at the rate of 400 percent within a single 5-year period.

Major difficulties were encountered by the timber and timber processing industries toward the end of the 1970s. The intensive exploitation of high-grade coniferous species, the restrictions imposed on cedar felling and

natural disasters led to a sharp drop in the volume of timber shipments to the southern part of the area, involving the most valuable species in economic circulation accompanied by the underutilization of low-grade coniferous timber and waste determined the predominant development of machine processing in the area. Local timber consumption is characterized by higher outlays of timber goods compared to average union-wide indicators, as well as lesser use of plywood, wood tiles and cardboard. Currently annual felling covers an area with timber stock exceeding the amount of timber hauling by a factor of 1.3 or more. Substantial quantities of deciduous, thin larch and low-grade timber are neglected. Timber procurement and processing waste is poorly used. Many newly-built forest farms work at below-capacity level because of the noncomprehensive completion of the projects, manpower shortage and low labor mechanization. The laying of timber-hauling roads has declined, as a result of which the volume of timber shipments, lumber production, plywood, cardboard, paper and hydrolytic yeast has dropped. Outlays for mastering and producing goods made of wood have increased.

## II

Improvements in the transport complex require the development of the ground transportation network. This is largely related to completing the building of the BAM and further extension of the railroad toward Yakutsk. Nevertheless, the technical and economic indicators of the transportation system can be improved only as a result of the efficient interaction among its individual types -- rail, sea, river, road and air.

The zone of the BAM economic development assumes particular significance. Science is creating a theoretical base for the fastest possible inclusion of the richest possible resources of the territories adjacent to the BAM into the national economy. A tremendous amount of research must be done in this area before the end of the century in terms of scientific preparations, planning and practical implementation of large-scale intersectorial, scientific and technical and socioeconomic projects and programs related to the establishment and development of new industrial enterprises, industrial centers and territorial production complexes.

The BAM area is underdeveloped and so is its social infrastructure. Furthermore, conditions within the zone lead to significant increases in construction costs, including housing and consumer facilities. This creates numerous difficulties in the economic development of the zone, necessitating the development of non-labor-intensive production facilities, locating servicing enterprises in adjacent southern areas and limiting the development of non-basic processing facilities.

Our specialists and scientists, including Academician A. Aganbegyan (see KOMMUNIST No 15, 1944, p 44), are convinced that the most important feature in the development of new territories is the creation of suitable conditions for attracting and retaining highly skilled cadres. Unfortunately, many scientists and specialists believe that it would be expedient to concentrate on the exploitation of natural resources in areas with difficult natural and climatic conditions on the basis of short-term manpower utilization, establishing in the developed territory only temporary settlements with

minimal living conditions for time-contract or expedition-type work. Without denying the advantages of such an approach in resolving individual economic development problems (laying petroleum and gas pipelines and developing short-term deposits), we should note that the main strategic line in the development of the BAM zone should be one of establishing settlements with a permanent population and cadres and the creation of all the necessary conditions for a full life directly in the development areas. This is entirely consistent with the task set by the 26th party congress of equalizing social disparities on the territorial level. This will also contribute to the socioeconomic progress of the Far East.

Pursuit of this strategy will require the implementation of a number of steps including the use of different wage coefficients and granting a number of additional benefits which would increase the population's income in the development area, adequate supplies of consumer goods, a higher level of housing facilities and the development of the other elements of the social infrastructure.

A great deal has been accomplished since the construction of the BAM was undertaken to improve life support systems in the area under development. However, neither the scale nor the pace of the program for the development of the social infrastructure are consistent with the requirements of zonal economic development.

The study of the situation indicates that the growth rates of population increase here are substantially higher than those of housing construction. Furthermore, the level of per capita consumer services is below the republic average by more than one-third.

The development of the social infrastructure is greatly hindered by the scattering of construction capacities among ministries and departments and the duplication of activities by many enterprises. For example, already now there is a duplication of interests among the URS's [Workers' Supply Administrations] of BAMstroyput, Amurzoloto, ZeyaGESstroy, Amurmeliovodstroy and Amurles and the trade enterprises of the consumer cooperative.

An unsatisfactory situation is also developing in the organization of a uniform network of cultural-consumer establishments in large settlements, such as Tynda, where departmental interests prevent the establishment of infrastructural city-wide projects. Obviously, the solution of such problems could be achieved by putting all funds in the hands of a single customer. The construction of social infrastructure projects could be better financed through the local soviet executive committees rather than the sectorial ministries which, as practical experience indicates, are not especially eager to use such funds, which results in disproportions between the production and nonproduction spheres.

For the sake of providing better living conditions it would be expedient to provide for the construction workers comfortable housing in the southern zone of the Far East no later than within the period covered by the labor contract, where the development of the BAM zone is taking place directly. Housing construction can be developed two ways: first, by organizing department

support centers in which housing would be built at a faster rate and which would be offered to the families of workers employed at the new construction projects the moment they arrive; second, by providing housing to workers who have worked in area development for no less than 5 years, out of funds for the implementation of housing construction programs and through cooperative construction, withholdings for which could be based on the method currently used to finance car purchasing. Naturally, this would require capital investments and strengthening construction facilities in the southern parts of the Far East. Such steps, however, would contribute to the accelerated development of the area and, at the same time, would resolve a set of problems related to the organization of a manpower base for the time-contract method for the development of the northern part of the Far East.

The development of a local metallurgical base is of great importance to the Far East. The existing metallurgical plant in Komsomolsk-na Amure can meet no more than 30 percent of regional demand for rolled ferrous metals. Nor will the conversion plant, the completion of which is planned for the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan, solve the problem entirely. The construction of a full-cycle metallurgical combine has been postponed so far because of the insufficient degree of readiness of the iron ore base. Large deposits of iron, manganese, titanium and nonmineral ores have been identified by now. In particular, the iron ore reserves are adequate for the uninterrupted work of such a combine for several decades.

Already now about 20 million rubles are spent annually on hauling rolled metal for interregional use. Such outlays will more than double in the future unless the problem of increasing local production has not been radically solved.

The development of brucite deposits is an example of major unused opportunities. A deposit of this valuable magnesium-rich deposit has been discovered in Khabarovsk Kray. The local ore has a higher brucite content compared to that found in U.S. deposits. However, the deposit remains poorly developed although there is a shortage of magnesium in the country and roasted magnesium has to be imported. The technical and economic recommendations relative to the construction of a plant on the basis of the Kuldur brucite deposit were drafted more than 10 years ago. So far, however, they have remained unused.

Enterprises of more than 10 machine building sectors operate in the Far East. Their activities, however, exert an extremely inadequate influence on the technical reconstruction of the Far Eastern economy. The specialization of the enterprises is substantially inconsistent with the needs of the area. Their virtually entire output is shipped to other parts of the country. Meanwhile the area is short of machines and equipment for the most important sectors, such as the timber industry, ore extraction, fishing and fuel and energy. Such items must be shipped over great distances instead of reorienting local machine building to meet regional needs. The capital investments required for this purpose would be recovered in 4-5 years from savings on transportation costs alone.

The importance of such steps will increase in connection with the extensive putting into economic circulation the northern territories of the Far east and the development of the natural resources of the BAM zone. The harsh natural-climatic and mining-geological conditions require the technical retooling of many sectors and manpower conservation. Here the "more equipment and less people" formula become particularly relevant. However, the efficient use of machines instead of manpower is possible only with the extensive utilization of equipment in its "frost-resistant" variation, maximally adapted to work under northern conditions. The need arises to organize, albeit partially, the manufacturing of such equipment by the machine building enterprises in the area.

The need for the development of a chemical industry in the Far East becomes particularly urgent, especially for supplying the region's agriculture with chemical fertilizers. Currently, the annual cost of hauling fertilizer to the souther parts of the Far East is about 10 million rubles, and the needs of agriculture are not fully satisfied. Meanwhile, the area is experiencing severe difficulties in supplying the population with commestible goods. In 1983 the population's individual consumption exceeded the volume of local production by almost 100 percent for meat and dairy products and by 40 percent for vegetables. Given the extremely limited land resources and difficult weather conditions, it is precisely the use of chemical fertilizers and, on this basis, increasing agricultural yields and productivity and reducing production losses that would enable us to base population food supplies (difficult to transport and fast spoiling) on local production. Excellent natural resources exist for the development of local fertilizer production (agro-ores in the north of Khabarovsk Kray and Yakutiya and Sakhalin's natural gas which will soon begin to be pumped into the Komsomolsk-na-Amure area through the gas pipeline currently under construction.

The solution of these problems presumes substantial improvements in the level of the planned development of the regional economy. It is precisely shortcomings in the proportional development of individual sectors and production facilities that led to major disproportions in the 1970s.

### III

Regardless of the specific conditions prevailing in the Far East the existing disproportions cannot be considered the result of a random development of circumstances. To a large extent the disproportions are caused by subjective reasons, above all the lack of coordination between sectorial solutions and national objectives of comprehensive area development. At the present time the decisions of enterprises and departments to develop sectors in a given part of the country are based on comparative indicators of the economic efficiency of the production process. Taking into consideration the features of the current stage in the economic development of the Far East and its economic structure, let us take note of the objective difficulties experienced by sectorial management and planning bodies in making decisions aimed at the comprehensive development of the zone. Here the efficiency indicators of production growth are relatively low, and a steady increase in industrial capital intensiveness may be noted.

Under such specific conditions, the planned management of the region's economic development must rest on a comprehensive target program for upgrading Far East production forces. The "Far East" Program is aimed at improving overall planning and concentrating material and labor resources in key areas. Far East scientists are formulating 26 target programs as the basis of the overall "Far East" Program. This work was preceded by kray and oblast practical science conferences at which a variety of measures were discussed and approved, taking natural and manpower resources, the need for new or updating of older production facilities and the systematic renovation of capital assets on the basis of the latest equipment and technologies into consideration. The indicators included in the target programs were the base for perfecting the current 5-year plan and the formulation of assignments for the 1986-1990 period and beyond it.

The pivot of the program is the formulation of the basic directions in the long-term development of the regional economy. It presumes the increased contribution of the Far Eastern economic region to the upsurge of the country's national economy; improving the balanced development of the region on the basis of the faster growth of fuel and energy sectors, construction and transportation and the reorganization and further expansion of machine building, ferrous metallurgy and the chemical and petrochemical industries, taking into consideration the maximal satisfaction of intraregional requirements; systematic implementation of a labor-saving policy in resolving problems of the location and development of production facilities and application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress; and paying greater attention to the nonproduction sphere, availability of services and attaining optimal parameters in living standards and social development, including problems of population food supplies based on local production.

The main links of the regional program are the problems of population, manpower resources and social development. No substantial increase in the labor potential is expected here. The "trade" in manpower, from the qualitative viewpoint, between the Far East and other areas is not benefiting the former. It has been estimated that losses to the national economy from unorganized migrations in both directions in the Far East run into billions of rubles in a 5-year period. The creation of optimal population living conditions relative to the central areas and the country as a whole must be undertaken as of now at an accelerated pace. The implementation of the plans for the economic development of the area calls for recruiting and retaining large manpower groups. Practical experience proves that providing working and living conditions in this territory on a priority basis is a decisive factor in the efficient organization of such processes. Naturally, this includes not only wages. The entire set of living conditions in the area, such as availability of housing, consumer services, food products and durable goods, is of essential importance in attracting and retaining newcomers.

Priority should be given to problems of the social infrastructure, the insufficient development of which sometimes results in migration flows away from the newly developed areas. Socioeconomic studies should greatly concentrate not only on the forms and methods of attracting manpower but also on formulating sets of measures ensuring its efficient utilization. Most important in this case is the development of social, economic and technical

aspects of a labor-conservation policy. The basic and determining trends and scales of influence of the Far Eastern economy on overall public production and on the pace of development and structure of the regional economy itself are the union-level specialization sectors (nonferrous metallurgy and the fishing and timber industries).

No single area of the country is so closely related in its development to marine activities as is the Far East. This is the gate to the largest ocean in the world, the Pacific, and, at the same time, the base for the economic utilization of the eastern part of the Arctic and the Indian Ocean. The ocean plays a special role in meeting the country's Food Program's requirements for marine products. This raises the urgent need to perfect catching methods and tools, in the fishing fleet above all. The system for processing the products must be significantly restructured. The currently available equipment prevents their full utilization: many varieties of products of the sea are not processed, and fish-processing waste is underutilized. The time has come to convert from the traditional "collecting" of fish products to the purposeful growing of marine organisms and upgrading their biological productivity with the establishment of marine "farms" equipped with proper scientific and technical facilities.

The coastal waters of the Far East are promising in terms of the industrial development of sea farming. Presently this subsector is limited to some areas in Maritime Kray and South Sakhalin and is only at its experimental stage. With the intensive development of sea "farms" their total capacity in Maritime Kray alone would yield several thousand tons annually of delicacies, such as shellfish, oysters and shrimp.

Another no less urgent problem is that of developing the ocean's mineral resources. This involves the study of spatial distribution and composition of iron and manganese nodules, and surveys leading to their extraction. The scientific and technical facilities for extracting mineral raw materials from the ocean call for developing and equipping a metallurgical complex for processing and extracting nickel, cobalt, manganese, copper and other metals from the nodules.

Prospects for the development of Far East production forces and upgrading its role in the national economic complex involve, above all, the accelerated utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. Estimates have indicated that it is precisely in the Far East that production retooling yields maximal results. Thus, if we take savings from production mechanization in the central areas as 100 percent, they would be 120 percent in the West Siberian, 140 percent in the East Siberian and 170 percent in the Far Eastern economic rayon.

The national economic significance of the application of technical progress is clearly visible in the use of some types of northern-oriented equipment. The cost of truck transportation in the northern areas of the Far East is about 50 percent higher than in the southern. Transportation costs can be reduced by replacing ordinary trucks with their northern versions (such as ZIL-130S). The extensive use of machinery modified for northern conditions in the

Kamchatka Oblast farms alone would save 15-20 million rubles per year in transportation costs.

The use of equipment of higher unit capacity in the working of deposits and construction in the northern part of the Far East would yield great economic benefits. Estimates have indicated that increasing the average power of bulldozers in Far East construction and industry by 11-12 horsepower would release a number of mechanizers sufficient for servicing the main construction equipment of Gravbamstroy on a three-shift basis.

Practical experience acquired in construction under northern conditions indicates that northern varieties of earth-removal and construction equipment reduce idling by nearly one-third and increase output by 10-30 percent. Similar examples involving other types of equipment yield approximately the identical results.

Huge areas and endless space, most of it in the north, are characteristic features of the Far East. The development of the north means essentially a struggle with space. Winning it requires a developed transportation system. Unfortunately, despite the construction of the BAM, this problem has not been definitively solved. The strengthening of the transport complex requires, above all, the solution of major problems, such as turning the Northern Seaway into a year-round transportation artery in its easter sector, extending the BAM to Yakutsk and, possibly, Magadan, planning for a BAM outlet on the ports of Maritime Kray and a possible northern outlet on the Okhotsk shore of Khabarovsk Kray and the total electrification of the Trans-Siberian Railroad and subsequently of the BAM.

The implementation of measures planned in the course of the development of the comprehensive "Far East" target national economic program will enable us in the future substantially to upgrade the role of the area in acquiring the resources for national economic accumulation and consumption and significantly to upgrade production efficiency and population living standards. This can be achieved mainly as a result of the better utilization of regional raw material sources. The development of an essentially new mineral and raw material base from the resources of the shelf and the continental slope is a realistic expectation for the end of the current and beginning of the next century. In the future the Far East may become one of the main petroleum and gas production areas of the country on the basis of sea-bottom oil deposits.

The efficient development of the coastal areas and the elimination of disproportions and bottlenecks in sectorial structure will lead to a significant increase in the production of fish and other sea products, which will improve the country's food supply balance.

Improving the economic structure and particularly the quality parameters of output on the basis of the favorable economic and geographic situation of the area, resource availability and a large maritime fleet are grounds for the transformation of the Far East into a large national export center.

The comprehensive utilization of the natural resources of the Far East requires not only a planned strategy but also an effective system for managing the entire socioeconomic development of this huge area. An apparatus of the representative of the USSR Gosplan for the Far East economic rayon has been set up on an experimental basis. The April 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenum called for increasing the role of territorial bodies, the local soviets above all, in managing regional economic construction. In order to ensure the implementation of the plenum's stipulations and to upgrade the comprehensive development of production forces in the region, the Far East Scientific Center Economic Research Institute, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and the representative of the USSR Gosplan for the Far East Economic Rayon are jointly drafting suggestions on improving the interaction between local management bodies and ministries and departments with enterprises in the Far East. We believe that improving the interaction between sectorial and regional bodies will enable us to eliminate more rapidly the existing problems and shortcomings in the economic development of this part of the country.

The Far East is merely beginning to reveal its secrets. It is an area with tremendous potential. The extensive development of the various sectors and their updating are of major national economic importance. The implementation of the program for the economic upsurge of the Far Eastern Economic Rayon will help to implement the party's course of accelerated development not only of the eastern areas but of the entire national economy and to upgrade public production efficiency.

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## ARDENT FIGHTERS FOR COMMUNISM

### THE ALL-UNION CHAIRMAN

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[Article by A. Smolyanitskaya, written on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of M. I. Kalinin's birth]

[Text] Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin held the position of head of the supreme organ of power of the Soviet state for over a quarter of a century, from 1919 to 1946. A native talent, who sprang from the midst of the people, he was a promoter of the ideas of the Leninist party throughout his conscious life, setting a particularly outstanding example of dedicated service to the cause of the liberation of the working class and the establishment and consolidation of the first socialist state in the world.

M. I. Kalinin was born on 7 (19) November 1875 to a large peasant family in Verkhnaya Troitsa village in the former Tver Guberniya (today Kalinin Oblast). As the eldest child, he became familiar with need and privations since early childhood, helping his mother farm the land while his father sought seasonal work. For the sake of extra earnings, the youngster hired out as a "houseboy" in the estate of Mordukhay-Boltovskiy, with whose family he moved to Petersburg, for the first time, in 1889. Heavy peasant labor and life as a servant left their mark on shaping the views of this naturally curious and able boy who yearned for knowledge.

At the age of 18 he became apprentice turner at Petersburg's Staryy Arsenal" Arms Manufacturing Plant. It was here that Kalinin's revolutionary outlook was formed in the first Marxist circles of Lenin's "Alliance for the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class." Many years later, addressing his Leningrad electorate, Mikhail Ivanovich was to say: "I began to develop, strengthen and hammer out a bolshevik revolutionary outlook among the workers of Kirovskiy Rayon. It was among the workers of the Kirov plant that my talents for organization, propaganda and agitation were born, developed and strengthened... For the first time, the proud thought came to me that the proletariat must not only struggle but also unfailingly win."

Joining the ranks of the revolutionary social democrats toward the end of the 19th century, Kalinin covered with them the difficult road of struggle under the harshest possible circumstances of clandestine work, arrest and exile. He

was among those about whom Lenin wrote at that time that "...True heroes stand out among the workers who, despite the disgraceful situation in which they live and the stultifying convict factory labor, find within themselves the necessary character and will power to study, study and study again, and to make of themselves conscious social democrats and members of the 'worker intelligentsia'" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 4, p 269).

Agent for and contributor to Lenin's ISKRA, active participant in the first Russian revolution, deputy to the Petersburg Soviet of Worker Deputies, member of the Peterburgskiy and Vasileostrovskiy Rayon RSDWP committees, delegate to the 4th (Unification) Party Congress in Stockholm and Central Committee candidate member, elected at the 6th (Prague) All-Russian Party Conference, were the main stages in Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin's revolutionary activities. Wherever he happened to be, in Petersburg, Tiflis, Revel, Moscow or the remote town of Poventse in Olonetskaya Guberniya, everywhere he invariably became the leader of the masses, involving progressive workers in the revolutionary movement. Fourteen detentions and exiles did not break but only strengthened this revolutionary Leninist, increasing his faith in the victory of the socialist revolution.

During the February 1917 bourgeois democratic revolution, Kalinin engaged in propaganda work among the insurgent workers and soldiers. His ability to persuade and lead the masses was manifested with particular clarity during his 27 February 1917 speech to the huge crowd of soldiers and workers on the square at the Finland Station in Petrograd. The people stood there undecided, waiting for action. Shouts were heard: "Where are the leaders? Lead us!" Kalinin rose to the station platform. "If you want to have leaders," he addressed the crowd, go to 'Kresty' (the prison--author). We must begin by freeing the leaders." His idea was taken up instantaneously. "Someone shouted: 'Let us first begin by freeing them from the military prison!...' The idea turned into action: some took off for the military prison, while others marched on 'Kresty!' Workers formed detachments: the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, for which Lenin had fought for such a long time, was taking place." That is how Kalinin himself described that day, many years later.

After the overthrow of autocracy he became member of the Petersburg Bolshevik Party Committee and PRAVDA editor. His articles on the confiscation of landed estates, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the soviets of worker, soldier and peasant deputies, the 8-hour work day, and the war and fraternizing at the front were published in the party's central organ and in SOLDATSKAYA PRAVDA. In a simple, clear and understandable style Kalinin presented the most vital problems of the time, convincingly arguing that the bourgeois Provisional Government was unable to give the people peace, land, bread and freedom. In calling for a socialist revolution, he explained that "The purpose of the revolution is not to destroy cultural and material goods. It must increase the spiritual and material power of the insurgent people themselves. The insurgent people are creating and building. They must create if they want to take the revolution to its finish."

Kalinin's talent as a propagandist, publicist and agitator, who could quickly establish contacts with the masses, was revealed to its fullest extent during that most crucial period to the fate of the revolution. Lenin particularly singled out these features in Mikhail Ivanovich: "The workers of Petrograd have realized that he has the ability to approach the broad toiling masses which lack party training, whenever propagandists and agitators have been unable to approach them in a skillful comradely manner. Comrade Kalinin has been able to resolve this problem" (op. cit., vol 38, p 224). Under Ilich's guidance, and together with his closest associates, Kalinin dedicated at that time his entire strength to uniting the political army of the socialist revolution. It was in his position as chairman of the board of the Lesnovskit-Udelninskiy Rayon Duma that the historical 16 October 1917 session of the RSDWP(b) Central Committee, at which Lenin's resolution on armed uprising was ratified and a military-revolutionary uprising control center was chosen, was held in utmost secrecy.

The Russian proletariat seized power in October 1917. Kalinin considered his personal participation in the socialist revolution the main accomplishment of his life.

After the October Revolution, in solving the great problems of building a new world, the Bolshevik Party mobilized the efforts of such tried sons and fighters tempered by the revolution as Kalinin for the breakdown of the old bourgeois administrative apparatus and strengthening the Soviet system.

As chairman of the board of the Petrograd City Duma and subsequently as commissar for urban facilities of the Union of Communes of the Northern Oblast, Mikhail Ivanovich proved to be an able organizer and economic manager. Here as well he invariably followed the Leninist principles of strengthening ties with the masses, relying on them and selflessly serving the interests of the working people.

In March 1919, following the death of Ya. M. Sverdlov, chairman of the VTsIK, Lenin recommended M. I. Kalinin for the highest governmental position in the Soviet republic. "He is a comrade with some 20 years of party work," Vladimir Ilich said. "He himself is a peasant from Tver Guberniya, closely linked with agriculture and steadily updating and refreshing this link... Such a candidate would enable us practically to organize a number of direct contacts between the supreme representative of the Soviet system and the middle peasantry and help us to come closer to it" (ibid., pp 224, 226). For 27 years Kalinin headed the supreme power body of the Soviet state, first as chairman of the VTsIK and, after the establishment of the USSR, as chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR and the VTsIK and, as of 1938, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

He became a member of the party's Central Committee Politburo in 1919 at the 8th RKP(b) Congress, first as Politburo candidate member and, from January 1926 and to the end of his life, member of the VKP(b) Politburo. The revolution brought out in people such as Kalinin a tremendous creative potential and clearly proved that the working people can manage the state by themselves. There is literally no area of state and socialist construction in which the results of the work of the all-union chairman, as Mikhail Ivanovich

was warmly known among the people, were not felt. He actively participated in the radical restructuring of socioeconomic relations on a socialist basis.

Kalinin paid great attention to the work of the soviets. "What are the soviets," was a question he asked as early as 1917. He answered: "So far, nothing better has ever been created by history and no better forms of rule by the people have previously existed... The soviets are a new form of democracy formed by two revolutionary classes, workers and peasants, and the hegemony role, the role of pioneer and creator of this new form, unquestionably belongs to the workers, the proletariat."

Problems of Soviet state construction have invariably been the focal point of attention of the party. The young Soviet republic had virtually no experience in this area. New means and methods of work had to be devised, the governmental machinery, central and local, had to be strengthened, closer ties had to be forged between the soviet bodies and the broad toiling masses and the latter had to become involved in the specific affairs of soviets and executive committees.

As head of the Soviet state, Kalinin did a tremendous deal of work to improve the activities of the soviets which, in his words, as the agencies of proletarian dictatorship, "are the organizers of new labor processes, of socialist processes..." He ascribed particular importance to the development of the organizational forms of the soviets and to improving their working methods, considering the local soviets the foundation, the basis, the organization "through which the entire multi-million-strong mass can be encompassed..." Kalinin paid daily attention to perfecting and reorganizing the Soviet apparatus, guided by Lenin's theory of the socialist state. He tirelessly emphasized the thought of the subsequent development of the state of proletarian dictatorship into a state of the whole people through the soviets and their strengthening and development.

Slightly less than 60 years ago, in his article "What the Soviet System Is Doing to Implement Democracy," written for the foreign press, Mikhail Ivanovich defined the development of our state as follows: The Soviet government, he pointed out, is involving, "together with the proletariat, the broad toiling elements in the country, numbering in the millions, in political action, under proletarian influence, naturally. It is thus that, with the successful building of socialism, the disappearance of capitalist relations and capitalists, gradually the proletarian state will convert into a state of the whole people, with a new meaning and content (striving toward communism)." Kalinin emphasized in this connection that the success achieved in soviet construction will largely hasten or postpone the cherished goal of the proletariat--communism.

Mikhail Ivanovich invariably concerned himself with the most important question of soviet cadre training. In 1919 he signed the decree establishing the Central Soviet and Party Work School, subsequently renamed Communist University imeni Ya. M. Sverdlov. Like the other leaders of the party and the government, Kalinin was one of the school's group of lecturers and repeatedly spoke on various topical problems.

Kalinin guided the legislative activities of the All-Union Central Executive Committee and participated in drafting or himself drafted many decrees and laws on basic aspects of the state and social life of the young Soviet republic. He directed the sessions of the VTsIK, the USSR Central Executive Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, USSR soviet congresses and All-Russian congresses of soviets. He chaired many of them and submitted reports on the most important current problems. Mikhail Ivanovich also chaired conference on problems of soviet construction.

It was with Kalinin's participation that the VTsIK passed a law on the rural soviets, volost congresses and uyezd executive committees, which became one of the main cornerstones for legality of the primary soviet organizations. Many of Mikhail Ivanovich's speeches are imbued with constant concern for strengthening the ties between the soviets and the masses, expanding their organizational work and strengthening the leading soviet cadres and upgrading their cultural standards and political and economic training. Thus, in a speech at a conference of chairmen of rural soviets and rayon executive committees in January 1934, he made the following appeal: "From administering...move on to economic management and politics, be able to serve the people and, at the same time, pursue your line... You must not forget that you are only the executive arm of the people and that your value greatly depends on your service to the people, naturally, not like philistines or petit bourgeois. We know how to serve the people like bolsheviks."

During his numerous trips around the country, Kalinin not simply studied the work of the local soviets but also tried to understand it profoundly, to help eliminate shortcomings and organize projects.

An interesting document has been preserved: a letter written by Mikhail Ivanovich to the chairman of the Kimrskiy Uyezd Executive Committee, dated August 1921. He writes that in his visit to the Pechetovskiy Volispolkom he noticed cases of absenteeism. His conclusion was that the number of employees should be reduced, those remaining should be disciplined, and a duty rostrum for the members of the executive committee should be drawn up. A schedule should be set up so that every one of them should set a few hours weekly to see visitors. Their schedule made public. The uyezd executive committee should be supervised and helped to set up its books.

Kalinin closely supervised the way in which the soviets were implementing voters' instructions. "...Voters' instructions affect all aspects of life and needs of the working people," he said and emphasized that their implementation is one of the most important governmental obligations of the soviets. At its sessions the supreme Soviet authority regularly hears reports submitted by local soviets. Such reports are preceded by on-site investigations, supervision of soviet work and giving soviets practical aid.

Kalinin worked hard to improve the economic organizational activities of the Soviet state. He took active part in the formulation and implementation of party economic policy, in carrying out industrialization and agricultural collectivization plans and in resolving problems related to the cultural revolution.

Based on the principle that the building of socialism is something which the toiling masses must accomplish themselves, Mikhail Ivanovich tried to encourage millions of Soviet people to engage in active creative work and to become involved in state management. This was the specific purpose of his trips around the country. It would be difficult to find on the map of the Soviet Union an oblast or republic not visited by Kalinin. These trips, which were of exceptional importance to the successful management of governmental affairs and to maintaining constant and live contacts with the masses, began immediately following his election as chairman of the VTsIK. In April 1919 Kalinin left Moscow on the Oktyabrskaya Revolyutsiya VTsIK agitation and instruction train, which had been put together on Lenin's initiative. Between 1919 and 1925 the train made 22 trips, agitation work covered more than 1,500 towns, villages and railroad stations around the country. In the course of four trips Kalinin made more than 240 speeches to the working people, frequently delivering four to five speeches daily. More than 5 million people attended meetings or had personal talks with Mikhail Ivanovich. Before his first trip Kalinin told newspaper correspondents that "My objective, my main objective is to go directly to the uyezd or volost, to the toiling people away from the center, to find out what their needs are and to listen to the voice of life itself."

The bright and beautifully appointed carriages, the gramophone recordings of Lenin's speeches, the playing of the "Internationale" and revolutionary marches and songs and the showing of motion pictures new to the peasants, projected in the movie theater car or under open skies triggered the tremendous interest of the population. The train had a complaints bureau, and it was announced that complaints would be heard until 2 am and problems resolved on the spot. There was a library car and bookstore and large numbers of publications were being handed out. The train had its own printing press on which were printed the newspaper K POBEDE and leaflets. It even included a garage car with automobiles which which side trips of between 50 and 60 versts could be taken.

The meetings with the people took place on city squares, at plant shops and railroad stations, under open skies or in peasant huts. According to eyewitness reports, Kalinin immediately attracted the people with his simplicity, accessibility, knowledge of even minute details of rural life and warmth. For the first time, workers and peasants could see and hear a high-level official, talk with him in person and see for themselves that this was indeed their own people's system.

During those incredibly difficult times communicating with the masses was by no means simple. N. A. Semashko, the public health commissar, recalls that "During the first years of the Soviet system a great deal of skill was necessary to talk with people who were sometimes semi-hungry and semi-clothed, to explain the situation to them and to enhance the authority of the young Soviet system. The people liked Mikhail Ivanovich's simplicity, warmth, attentiveness and sense of justice."

Again and again Kalinin promoted the idea of strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The peasant and the worker are

blood brothers and the alliance between them is the foundation and support of the Soviet system, he tirelessly repeated.

Lenin, who valued highly Kalinin's work in strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, pointed out that "...Thanks to Comrade Kalinin, work in the countryside has gained significant impetus. Unquestionably, the peasant has acquired the possibility of communicating more directly with the Soviet system by turning to Comrade Kalinin, who represents the supreme power of the Soviet republic" (op. cit., vol 39, p 313).

The political repercussions of Kalinin's trips were tremendous. With the real help he gave to the local authorities in economic and cultural construction, and control over the local situation, the information he provided about the activities of the central state power bodies and his tremendous amount of agitation and propaganda work he promoted the establishment and consolidation of the Soviet system.

During the period of industrialization and collectivization of agriculture and the first five-year plans, Kalinin repeatedly visited the new construction projects in the Urals and Siberia and the national republics. His speeches at enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, schools and Red Army units contributed to harnessing the efforts of the working people for the implementation of the great constructive plans formulated by the party.

Trips around the country were one of the most important ways of communication between the head of the supreme authority and the people. Personally seeing citizens in Moscow became another no less important form of communication. For 27 years M. I. Kalinin's reception office was in the building which to this day houses the reception premises of the USSR Supreme Soviet and RSFSR Supreme Soviet presidiums. Such receptions were a vivid example of the democratic nature of the Soviet system. About one million visitors were seen and more than 3 million letters were received and considered. Bearing in mind the fact that some were group addresses, some 8 million citizens in all had addressed themselves to the reception office. The history of the establishment and development of the Soviet state can be studied from data on Kalinin's reception office, for they reflect all the changes which were taking place in the life of the land of the soviets.

The reputation and respect which the reception office earned took long and painstaking efforts, involving providing assistance and friendly advice and explanations to those who addressed themselves to that establishment in need of support. Here, under Kalinin's guidance, the personnel underwent splendid Leninist training in communicating with the masses. The All-Russian and USSR Central Executive Committees, which were drawn into the activities of the reception office, learned how to resolve problems guided by national rather than parochial interests. Mikhail Ivanovich tirelessly emphasized that one must consider the fundamentals rather than look at matters formally, and must resolve problems guided by one's conscience. "The main thing here is to approach each problem soberly, and to talk to the people in such a way that, as they leave they would feel that they had been treated like human beings."

Naturally, Kalinin was by no means "kindly" at the expense of the state. He was forced to deny the requests of many, particularly when their demands were groundless. Something else was important: to explain to a citizen the reason for which his request could not be met. However, even if the slightest possibility of helping existed, Mikhail Ivanovich himself tried to settle the matter and demanded of the reception office personnel to turn to the respective institutions and to insist that the matter be settled fairly. "The results of a policy become apparent only when something has been carried out," he used to say. He believed that ten accurate decisions were sometimes worth a meeting attended by 10,000 people.

The reception office was Kalinin's favorite creation. He ascribed tremendous importance to work with citizens' letters, petitions and complaints, considering it a strictly political matter demanding fine political sensitivity and excellent knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. "Soviet policy," he emphasized, "means that the living person is in the focal point of attention and the main target of all concerns." Kalinin's reception of visitors amazed foreigners, who had frequently observed the free and easy way in which workers, peasants, clergymen, members of different nationalities and young and older people talked with the head of state. Kalinin's tremendous practical experience, wisdom, principle-mindedness and spiritual warmth helped him find a way to the hearts of the people. He always said that satisfying the legitimate demands of the citizens was the direct obligation of the Soviet authorities.

The reception office of the all-union chairman became a kind of control authority which helped to expose shortcomings in legislative work and the work of the local Soviet bodies and offered rich data for improving the functioning and perfecting of the entire state apparatus.

A fierce fighter against any manifestations of bureaucratism, formalism and callousness, Mikhail Ivanovich constantly taught the personnel of Soviet establishments to remember that "it is the apparatus which exists for the population and not the population for the apparatus. Every Soviet official must be aware of the fact that in all circumstances he is the servant of the population."

Kalinin was the head of a multinational state; together with Lenin, he stood at the sources of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and personally participated in the drafting of the 1924 and 1936 constitutions. Addressing the First Congress of USSR Soviet on 30 December 1922, he said: "What is taking place today, under relatively modest circumstances, is an event of global importance... To start with, this Unification Congress will enable us to increase our material resources, thus countering a bourgeois world hostile to us. Secondly, from the political viewpoint as well, the unification of Soviet republics tremendously enhances their real significance in the eyes of the entire bourgeois world. Thirdly, and finally, we are laying here the cornerstone of a truly fraternal community."

Kalinin took part in the practical implementation of Lenin's national policy. He was a passionate fighter for strengthening the friendship and fraternity among peoples. As a true internationalist, he was equally loved by and close

to the working people in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia and the republics of the Transcaucasus and Central Asia. The big and small nations in the country welcomed him in their lands with enthusiasm. Solving the national problem was of particular significance in the multinational and multilingual land of the soviets, whose peoples had reached disparate levels of development. As Lenin's loyal student and follower, Kalinin accomplished a very great deal to eliminate the existing economic, social and cultural inequalities among them and to develop the Soviet republics, united within the USSR.

As head of the supreme authority of the Soviet system, Kalinin worthily represented our country in its relations with other states. He constantly promoted the growth of the international prestige of the USSR. Toward the end of 1924, a large number of countries had established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Invariably, Mikhail Ivanovich received foreign envoys and visitors with great dignity yet with human simplicity. "One is amazed," wrote the German newspaper KOLNISCHER ZEITUNG in 1929, "how naturally and simply Kalinin performs his representative functions in dealing with foreign diplomats. All foreign ministers and ambassadors present their letters of accreditation to Kalinin. All of them wear their dress uniforms and decorations, their top hats in hand. Kalinin remains dressed in his simple clothing. Simplicity in manners and conversation have made Kalinin one of the best propagandists for the Soviet system."

As chairman of the USSR Central Executive Committee, M. I. Kalinin also made his contribution to the establishment and development of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the United States. His October 1933 message to President Franklin Roosevelt pointed out that normal relations between the USSR and the United States would be advantageous to both great countries and that tension between them "adversely affect not only the interests of the two countries but also the general international situation, intensifying elements of concern, worsening the process of strengthening global peace and encouraging the forces aiming at disturbing this peace."

The head of the Soviet state paid great attention to cultural construction in the country. Deprived of the opportunity to acquire a formal education in childhood and adolescence, Mikhail Ivanovich tirelessly worked throughout his life on steadily increasing and broadening his knowledge, thus becoming one of the best educated people of his time. He always emphasized the tremendous importance of education and mastering the heights of science and culture to the working people building socialism. Kalinin headed the "Down With Illiteracy" Society, which accomplished a great deal to eliminate illiteracy in the country, that most severe legacy of tsarism. He dedicated a great deal of effort to organize the training and education of the growing generation and to training skilled cadres for science and all sectors of the national economy.

M. I. Kalinin was in close touch with Soviet men of science, literature and the arts. He addressed them frequently, emphasizing their tremendous role in the reorganization of the world and the moral and aesthetic education of the people. M. A. Sholokhov described Kalinin as "the great friend of literature"

and wrote an article about him in which he warmly described his meetings and talks with Mikhail Ivanovich.

Kalinin is justifiably considered one of the greatest leaders of the communist party and a most talented propagandist of Marxist-Leninist ideas. Many of Mikhail Ivanovich's works and addresses are on the subject of Lenin, to whose ideological legacy he turned throughout his life and whose behests and plans he steadily and consistently implemented. Tirelessly, with the entire passion of his being, Kalinin propagandized Leninism, emphasizing that this great revolutionary doctrine was not of strictly national but of international significance and of exceptional value to the entire worldwide proletarian movement. In his speech "Leninism and the Comintern," which he delivered to the participants in the 5th Comintern Congress on Red Square, at Lenin's Mausoleum, on 18 June 1924, Kalinin said: That which we know as Leninism includes the most consistent, the most complete and most effective internationalism."

Kalinin was one of the leaders and propagandists of the Leninist school, who strove and were able to share with others their entire rich experience from the struggle and their entire wisdom. In his addresses at party congresses and all-union, oblast and rayon party conferences, he very skillfully explained the party's economic policy and the tasks related to the further advancement of the party's leadership of economic and cultural construction and steadily struggled for unity and cohesion within the party's ranks and against all varieties of antiparty and opposition groups. Mikhail Ivanovich was a superb orator and master of the living word. His thoughts were deep and the form they assumed was distinguished by its clarity and imagery. People from the senior generation remember Kalinin's speeches, which were always marked by the brilliance of an original mind, sparkling fine humor and live human feelings which touched the hearts of the audiences. As PRAVDA noted, Kalinin was one of the best bolshevik propagandists.

Mikhail Ivanovich has left us a tremendous party-publicistic legacy, dealing with a variety of problems of socialist building and communist education. His works have been published in 85 languages of the peoples of the USSR and other countries in some 57 million copies.

Mikhail Ivanovich considered ideological education in close connection with socialist construction, the shaping of the new man and the development of his creative activeness and high moral qualities. His work "On Communist Education" is justifiably considered a classic. It was delivered at a meeting of the Moscow party aktiv on 2 October 1940, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Lenin's speech at the 3rd Komsomol Congress. This report most fully reflects the basic problems of developing a communist morality: the struggle for high labor productivity, thrifty attitude toward socialist public property and shaping of Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism, collectivism and culture. Mikhail Ivanovich ascribed particular importance to developing in the Soviet people love for the homeland. He had in mind not some kind of "platonic love, but an energetic, active, passionate and indomitable love, a love which knows no mercy for the enemy and does not stop at any sacrifice for the sake of the homeland." Kalinin emphasized that

Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism are organically interrelated and supplement each-other.

Kalinin's outstanding and fiery addresses on the radio, at the fronts with Red Army troops and working people in the rear sounded like a passionate appeal to fight fascism during the Great Patriotic War. During that period, 160 of his articles, talks and speeches were published in 30 collections. Kalinin's works, heartfelt, full of love for the fatherland and hatred of the Hitlerite aggressors, were a valuable contribution to strengthening the moral firmness of the Soviet people fighting fascism. They were imbued with inflexible faith in our triumphant victory.

Mikhail Ivanovich considered love for the homeland as inseparably related to developing love of work. It was precisely in work for the common good, he said, that a person is formed. Honest, conscientious and highly efficient work, concern for both quantity and quality of output and high-level organization, initiative and discipline at work and concern for the supreme interests of the socialist fatherland were what Kalinin called for in his speeches to the working people.

The ideas he expressed and promoted are exceptionally relevant today, when the party has charted a course of accelerated socioeconomic development of the country, scientific and technical progress and persistent strengthening of discipline and order in all things. In speaking of the tasks currently facing the Soviet people, Comrade M. S. Gorbachev noted in the meeting between the CPSU Central Committee and veterans of the Stakhanov movement and production frontrakers and innovators that, in the final account, the matter of success is decided in the labor collectives, in associations, shops, brigades and workplaces. It is decided through the energy, the mind, the heart and the honor and conscience of every working person. What is essentially asked of everyone is to work conscientiously for the common good, strictly to observe discipline, to display responsibility and initiative and to be concerned as much with the interests of the state as with his own.

The Soviet people and our country's friends the world over celebrated M. I. Kalinin's 70th birthday in November 1945. As though summing up the results of what he had accomplished in long years of active and tireless efforts and what constituted the meaning of his entire life, Mikhail Ivanovich excitedly said: "I have always tried in all my decisions and actions to make them coincide in their essence with the party's decisions. This is entirely natural, for a true communist cannot think or feel differently. The party is the most idealminded, the most advanced detachment of the Soviet people. The party's principles are the principles for which we struggled during almost all of our lives. These are principles aimed at the good of the working class and the peasantry and the creation of a good life for all mankind. What honest person would not struggle for such principles? ...That is why I have always paid great attention to explaining our party ideas to the people and helping the people to master them.

"The second principle which has guided me and which I consider exceptionally important is that our life is possible only with the preservation of the Soviet state of workers and peasants. Naturally, we must dedicate our entire

efforts to work for the benefit of this state and struggle for it with all our strength."

Only half a year later death removed him from the ranks of the active fighters for the cause to which he had unreservedly dedicated himself. However, his words on that occasion continue to sound like an order to the new generations of Soviet communists, creators of the bright future of all mankind.

Kalinin loved to repeat that instilling the ideas of communism demands passion and that in order to lead the masses one must burn with them. The life of Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin, the outstanding person and Lenin's loyal student and fellow-worker, is a shining example of such fiery burning and inflexible loyalty to the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist homeland.

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**NEW DOCUMENTS OF M. I. KALININ**

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 85 (signed to press 4 Nov 85) pp 114-119

[Text] Following are documents by M. I. Kalinin, illustrating, each in its own fashion, his comprehensive activities and extensive relations with the toiling masses in the country.

Most of the documents are being published for the first time. Their originals are kept at the M. I. Kalinin State Museum in Moscow. The present selection was prepared by the museum's associates.

Defender of Peasants and Workers

Comrade Kalinin's Letter to Red Armyman Petrov

Comrade Petrov:

Your three brothers died, one after the other, at the dawn of the 1905-1906 revolution in the struggle against autocracy.

When your time came, you proved worthy of the memory of your brothers, who died a glorious death, in the battle against the Denikin gangs at Yuzovka on 24 April: You did not flinch, you did not yield to the general panic but, conversely, inspiring others with your example, you led them daringly forward until a White Guard bullet brought you down.

The Soviet worker and peasant regime never forgets those who loyally serve the revolution and who are always ready to sacrifice their life in defending the interests of workers and toiling peasants.

On behalf of the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia I, chairman of the VTsIK, thank you for your valor, Comrade Petrov, and award you this watch in memory of the occasion.

M. Kalinin, chairman of the VTsIK

Newspaper K. POBEDE!, organ of the Oktyabrskaya Revolyutsiya Agitation Train, No 38, 4 September 1919

## Instruction to a Communist Working in the Countryside

The first step of a communist working in the countryside is to make a proper study of conditions around him. He must meet personally with every member of the leading social group of the peasantry in order to find out who is socially active for ideological reasons and who for his own personal interests.

The next step is to determine what are the main needs of the rayon and note the available local means of satisfying them and, above all, the individuals who are the organizers, leaders and main characters in the satisfaction of these needs.

Not to hurry in implementing planned measures but undertake them only after preliminary work on the development and training of peasant cadres, who would assist in the implementation of said measures, avoiding, if possible to become the only initiator, but instead assisting the local peasant activists with one's experience and knowledge.

Finally, one must love the peasant. One must love him as he is, firmly aware of the fact that within every peasant there is a petty proprietor with all the features inherent in a petty proprietor. This character of the peasant can be changed only through slow and cautious efforts along with improving his well-being and increasing the cultural values channeled from the state to the peasantry.

M. Kalinin

Newspaper BEDNOTA, No 1949, 28 October 1924

In the Liberated Don

Comrade Kalinin Visits Khoperskiy Okrug

People's Meetings in Cossack Villages

Comrade Kalinin, the all-union chairman, visited several villages in Khoperskiy Okrug, including the okrug Uryupinskaya Cossack Village.

Meetings were held in the villages on Comrade Kalinin's arrival. The village men and women willingly came to talk with the Red chairman. Members of neighboring farmsteads also came after word had spread of the arrival of the elect of the workers and peasants.

Comrade Kalinin answered in detail all questions of interest to the cossack men and women.

The cossacks unanimously assured the all-Russian chairman that they wanted no war with the workers and peasants. The enmity and killing were all caused by ignorance, the cossacks claimed.

## **Conferences with Local Soviets**

Representatives of the central Soviet authorities, who came on the train carrying Comrade Kalinin, studied the work of the local soviets.

The steps which could be taken and the way in which the central authorities could help to restore the economy dislocated by the war were discussed at general meetings.

The first concern was to make a survey of the families of toiling cossacks, who had suffered in the hands of the counterrevolution. Money and aid will be given to such families when received from Moscow. Records will also be drawn up of cossacks who did not receive payment or receipts for produce supplied to the Red Army in the past. The poorest among them will be paid the moment the lists have been drawn up. The rest will be paid later, after the soviet has organized its work.

## **Ignorance Must Be Eliminated**

School and education work is barely being organized in the okrug. Measures are planned to enhance educational activities. Ignorance, which is the main enemy of the toiling masses, helped the generals to mislead the cossacks and to set them against the worker and peasant revolution. In the election of soviets the cossacks will issue their instruction of concentrating on the education not only of children but also of adults, so that the toiling people can govern themselves, rather than be governed by the nobility or the general's sons.

## **Red Chairman's Answers**

### **On the land:**

The generals told you that we shall take all the land from the cossacks. This is a lie. We shall only take the land of those who do not work it. Why take the land of those who work it? Is it in the interest of Moscow's peasants to take the land of Tver peasants? No, we are taking only the land of those who trade in it, who make money from selling it.

### **On the church:**

It is also being said that we are shutting churches down and chasing priests away. This too is untrue. Elect your representative and send him to Moscow to see how the people live there. Some of our priests have been detained, but for what reason? For hiding White Guard weapons under the altar. Understandably, we would punish, as we would any counterrevolutionary, the sort of priest who promotes the counterrevolution and opens a path to land owners and generals. But let us make the distinction that we are taking away the priest and not the church. If we find a rifle in the altar we would take that priest's garment and punish him.

As to the claim that we are forbidding praying, this is a lies. My own old mother keeps praying and has an icon-lamp and nobody is bothering her. What

is forbidden is to promote counterrevolution while hiding behind prayers. Let the priests serve mass and keep out of what is none of their business.

On marriage:

We are asked about our attitude toward marriage. We do not consider it mandatory for a person to get married in church. At the same time, however, we do not forbid it to anyone. If registering at the soviet is not enough, let them go to church also.

On women:

In our country women are as free as men. We have women workers and peasants in our All-Russian Soviet. In our north it is the peasant woman who goes to gatherings and it is the woman who is boss and not the muzhik, for there the woman is the full owner. A clever woman can be elected to the executive committee, and an even more intelligent one to the All-Russian Central Soviet. Is this bad? The nobility believe that it is, but the workers and peasants believe that it is not. In our country women enjoy full rights.

On children:

We have no illegitimate children. You know the way it was in the past: if an unmarried girl gives birth, the child is illegitimate. According to us, if she has given birth, she has obeyed the law of nature, and what could be more natural than a law of nature? We consider that such a child has all the rights of other children. Here is what is funny: is the child responsible for the way he was born?

Why the fighting?

Another question is why are we fighting now? ... is because we took the land from the land owners and did not want to fight for the capitalists.

In the past we fought for Constantinople and for Turkey because our merchants could not agree with the German merchants about who would sell goods to Turkey. It made no difference to us who profited, the Russian or the German merchant. So, we decided not to fight, and simply to cut down the merchants.

For the past 2 years we have lived without the tsar and Denikin. But the generals are unwilling to tolerate this. The capitalists are seeking revenge and waging war on us.

But now, you see, our army has thoroughly pounded the generals' army. And who is in our army? Peasants like you. Who commanded you? The generals. And you followed them obediently.

Who is at the head in our country?

It is people like Budennyy who are commanding on our side. He is a peasant...An elderly person, former sergeant and now commander of an entire army. Everything else in our country is like this. Take me, I am a peasant

from Tverskaya Guberniya and have been elected chairman of the All-Russian Soviet, and head of state.

#### Cossacks and Great Russians

What makes you, cossacks, different from us? I look at you and, in my view, you are just like our muzhiks.

Your ancestors fled from the old land owners. They could not get along with these blood suckers and escaped to the free Don and settled here. And now you are saying that you, cossacks, are something special. What is special about you, that you are running away from us! Just because they put stripes on your pants, and how expensive were they? What is ridiculous is that you, the formerly free peasants, are now all of a sudden fighting for the tsar.

#### Against whom did you fight?

Now, obviously, matters are winding up. We have totally defeated the enemy. The latest news is that we have taken Taganrog, Mariupol, Rostov and Novocherkassk. The time has come to start work. You all went to fight against us and the result was that both you and we were ruined. If you had 10 oxen in the past you now have one. Why? You went against us, your native brothers. Russia is our common home. You believe that as cossacks you are special. In fact, you come from our own guberniyas. Send your representatives to Moscow and you will see that everything is the same. And now, let us organize the farms. Enough fighting.

Cossacks: enough, enough. Everyone is sick of it.

#### On the election of soviets:

The provisional soviets are currently engaged in preparatory work for the election of permanent soviets. The working cossacks alone will participate in the elections, those who would like for the Soviet system to show no indulgence toward the extortioners and to defend the interests of the entire toiling population.

#### On the surrender of weapons:

The cossacks are already responding to the appeal to surrender their weapons. Comrade Kalinin warned that malicious concealers of weapons will be considered enemies of the people and will be punished severely. The country needs goods and the plants should be producing leather and manufactured goods. Instead, they are forced to make weapons. Why? Because a great deal of weapons are concealed by the population. All cossacks interested in having a strong labor government and the conversion of plants to peace-time work must help the soviets to expose malicious concealers of weapons.

K POBEDE!, No 67, 14 January 1920.

To the Chairman of the Board of the Revolyutsiya Kolkhoz, Makhrinskiy Rural Soviet, Aleksandrovskiy Rayon, Ivanovo Oblast

Dear Comrade:

M. I. Semenova, a member of your kolkhoz, has turned to me on the subject of the 3,000 ruble fine levied on her in favor of the kolkhoz for having sold a horse prior to joining the kolkhoz.

From the legal point of view the decision is correct. However, it seems to me that her request should be met.

She is alone and elderly and everything seems to indicate that she would be unable to pay the 3,000 rubles even if payment is spread over 6 years. The mandatory collection of this amount from this very old kolkhoz member, which is the bailiff's intention, would be politically wrong.

In fact, nothing other than judicial red tape would come of it all.

Therefore, I ask you to discuss this problem at a kolkhoz meeting and to tell the kolkhoz members that I personally would consider it possible to relieve her from paying the money she received for the horse, on an exceptional basis.

Please inform me of the decision.

With communist greetings,

M. Kalinin

To the Chairmen of Rural Soviets of Deputies of the Working People

Comrade chairmen of rural soviets of deputies of the working people! This is the second time this year that I am turning to you. My first address dealt with the spring sowing. As you may see, nature generously rewarded the kolkhoz members and yourselves for the good work. The crop was excellent. The task now is to harvest it on time, without so-called production losses. This is not so easy, bearing in mind the exceptionally rainy weather this year.

I do not have to remind you of the whys and wherefores of the losses. You know them better than I do. I can only say that, according to the calculations of the People's Commissariat for agriculture, a loss of 10 blades per square meter would amount to hundreds of millions of poods for the entire country. This year in no case could we allow ourselves such luxury.

There should be no losses. Harvest losses at such a difficult time for the country means betraying the interests of the homeland and a knife in the back of the Red Army.

The Hitlerite gangsters have inflicted the pains of hunger on their own country and all of Europe. They are trampling on the richest grain areas in our country and are thinking of exhausting us through hunger. This must not happen and this will not be allowed by our people.

Comrade chairmen of rural soviets, your duty to the homeland is to ensure the prompt start of the harvest, to involve the entire able-bodied population in it and to use all available opportunities so that the abundant crop be harvested without losses. This applies to both grain and vegetable crops.

A good harvest and economical use of food products are the equivalent of winning a major battle in the war against the fascist gangs. The harvest is the same as a battle at the front.

In turn we shall do everything possible for this battle to be won.

Please inform the kolkhoz chairmen of the content of this letter and, if possible, all kolkhoz members.

M. Kalinin

4 August 1942

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## BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### THE CRUX OF ALL THE WORK

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 85 (signed to press 4 Nov 85) pp 120-126

[Review by B. Arkhipov of the book "V. I. Lenin, KPSS ob Organizatsionno Partiynoy Rabote" [V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on Organizational Party Work]. In four volumes. Volume 3. "Work with Cadres. Control and Verification of Execution." Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 575 pp]

[Text] The April 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenum formulated an expanded and profoundly substantiated concept for the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country and, on that basis, reaching a new qualitative status by Soviet society. As was emphasized at the October 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenum, this is the core, the essence of our problems. Today the party presents to the people this acceleration concept with which it is advancing towards its forthcoming 27th congress. This concept is the pivot of all three party documents adopted at the plenum: the draft new edition of the CPSU program, changes in the CPSU bylaws and Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and in the Period Until the Year 2000.

In this exceptionally difficult and important segment of history, which is largely in the nature of a turning point, the party seeks the advice of the people on the most important, the crucial problems of its policy, strategy and tactics.

Seeking the advice of the people has the further profound meaning that without creating conditions for the daily and active participation of all working people and their collectives and organizations in resolving problems of state and social life we would be unable to advance successfully. The implementation of the strategy of accelerated socioeconomic development of our society requires, as was reemphasized at the October CPSU Central Committee plenum, the all-round energizing of the human factor.

In the context of current concerns of the Communist Party, the publication of the third volume of the collection under review could hardly be more timely. Its content reflects the richest possible experience of work with cadres, and control and verification of execution of decisions, gained by the Leninist party throughout its entire history.

Continuity is a distinguishing feature of a party engaged in consistent revolutionary activities, a party invariably loyal to Marxism-Leninism, a party with a serious attitude toward its theoretical principles and programmatic stipulations. Continuity mandatorily includes both the profound mastery and creative development of previous historical experience.

Drawing instructive lessons from this richest possible experience is particularly pertinent and simply necessary for the party members precisely now, when we bear in mind the responsible problems which the party must resolve in the course of its accountability and election campaign which must turn into a practical and exigent review of party forces and an important step in the implementation of the requirements of contemporary cadre policy and in mastering the Leninist work style.

Our Leninist party is a party of scientific communism. In the course of its entire revolutionary transforming activities it is guided by Marxism-Leninism, a doctrine which theoretically formulates the class interests of the proletariat, and scientifically substantiates its leading role in the revolutionary struggle for the reorganization of society on a collectivistic and communist basis. Lenin considered the existence of experienced political leaders and the training and upbringing of cadres a mandatory prerequisite for the successful struggle waged by the working class for its final objectives. He formulated the scientific principles governing cadre selection, based on political, practical and moral qualities.

The materials in the book prove in convincing documentary language the great importance which the party has ascribed to this aspect of its activities throughout all of its development stages. The reason is understandable. As Lenin repeatedly noted the very essence of party leadership is the selection of people and verification of execution. "The entire crux of the matter," he said at the 11th RKP(b) Congress, "is not political power but the ability to manage and assign people accurately" (p 125). The main task, Lenin wrote in the preface to the pamphlet "Old Articles on Almost New Topics," is to learn how to work, "assigning people more accurately, promoting individual responsibility for specific jobs and attentively studying and verifying practical experience, rather than pursuing "new" plans for new establishments or new organizations, reorganizations, and so on" (p 138). Experience irrefutably proves, as reflected in the materials included in the collection, that success always comes to party organizations which steadfastly observe the Leninist principles of cadre work. Conversely, their violation leads to errors, shortcomings and failures.

The political qualities of the leader are determined above all by his thorough knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, ideological convictions and loyalty to the cause of the working class and communism. These qualities cannot be replaced by memorizing quotations from the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and giving assurances, however sincere they may be, of loyalty to the invincible ideas of communism. It is a question of studying Marxism-Leninism as an integral doctrine in its entire depth and complexity and mastering it in close relation with life and the practice of the struggle waged by the working class and working people in our country and the socialist community, and by the

fraternal communist and worker parties for the revolutionary reorganization of society, peace and social progress. It is a question of the mastery of Marxist-Leninist doctrine free from doctrinairism and scholasticism, imbuing all of the greatest accomplishments of the human mind, accompanied by the mastery of the entire spiritual wealth created by mankind. Without this, Lenin said, one cannot become a communist. Finally, it is a question of theory becoming a manual for action for every party member, defining and testing the line and norm of behavior of party cadres by contrasting it with it.

The true proletarian leader, Georgi Dimitrov wrote in his time, develops through the mastery of Marxism-Leninism, in the flames of the class struggle, in the course of practical revolutionary work. Purely theoretical knowledge is insufficient. One must know how to develop within oneself revolutionary tempering and stamina in the course of the incessant struggle for the workers' cause, together with bolshevik willpower, firmness and persistence. Knowledge of how to ensure the victory of communism is not enough. One must have the courage to do what must be done and entirely to subordinate one's life to the interests of the proletariat.

The party has always encouraged its cadres to undertake the solution of all problems politically, invariably guided by the final objectives of the working class and the interests of building communism; through all their activities they must promote organic unity between ideological-educational and organizational work, tirelessly concerned with the most efficient placement of people consistent with the interests of the common cause. One must not, Lenin pointed out, mechanically separate economic and organizational from political problems. "The task," he said, "is to be able to organize the work properly, so as not to fall behind but eliminate frictions and not to separate administration from politics. For both politics and administration are based on the fact that the entire vanguard must be related to the entire proletarian mass, to the entire mass of the peasantry. There would be trouble for anyone who forgets this, who becomes involved with administration alone..." (p 125).

Lenin, who criticized Preobrazhenskiy for suggesting that the Politburo deal with political problems only, leaving the Organizational and Economic bureaus to deal with organization and economics, pointed out that "it is not possible precisely to determine which problems are political and which are organizational. Any political problem may turn out to be organizational and vice-versa. It is only the practice that was followed, according to which the Orgbureau could pass on to the Politburo any given problem that made the proper organization of Central Committee work possible.

"Who has ever suggested anything else? Nobody, ever, for no such suggestion would be sensible. Political matters cannot be mechanically separated from organizational ones. Politics is exercised through people, and if different people were to issue documents nothing would come out of it.

"As you know, in some revolutions papers were drafted at parliamentary meetings while policy was executed by people of a different class. This resulted in insults and in throwing such people out. One cannot separate

organizational from political problems. Politics is concentrated economics" (p 128).

Lenin highly rated in party cadres a strong blend of ideological convictions, loyalty to the revolution and the communist cause, a correct political approach to the solution of practical problems and organizational talent. This is clearly stated in the excerpt from "The Next Tasks of the Soviet System," included in the collection. To this day the appeal it contains of seeking out and identifying talented organizers patiently and persistently, "people who combine loyalty to socialism with the ability quietly (and despite confusion and noise) to organize strong and united work by a large number of people within the framework of the soviet organization" has a most contemporary relevance. "It is only such people," Lenin wrote, "after having been tested ten times over, shifting them from the simplest to the most difficult tasks, who should be promoted to responsible positions to manage the people's labor, to become heads of managements" (p 39).

In his speech in memory of Ya. M. Sverdlov, delivered at the extraordinary session of the All-Union Central Executive Committee on 18 March 1919, in his heartfelt and warm description of one of the most outstanding true proletarian revolutionaries, Lenin particularly emphasized in Yakov Mikhaylovich's character the inseparable unity between communist convictions and loyalty to the cause of the revolution and organizational talent (see pp 44-45).

The moral example set by the best party people proves to us that the true political maturity of the party member is determined, above all, by the firmness and consistency with which he fights for the interests of the working class and the toiling masses, and the energy and skill with which he implements party policy.

The party has always been concerned with shaping and developing such qualities in its cadres. Their theoretical and political training was organized even when the party was underground and subject to most cruel repressions. The revolutionaries became educated in "prison universities," in exile, where they set up circles for the study of Marxist theory, and in party schools organized abroad. At all times theoretical training of party cadres was combined with their practical concern for the ideological training and organization of the masses for revolutionary struggle. After the victory of the October Revolution, special schools were created for the theoretical training of party cadres and for the study, summation and dissemination of the practical experience of party organizations.

The work under review includes Central Committee decrees on the activities of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the republic and interoblast higher party schools, the Institute for Upgrading the Skills of Leading Party and Soviet Cadres, and the courses for upgrading the skills of party and soviet workers sponsored by the central committees of communist parties of union republics and CPSU kraykoms and obkoms, currently providing party cadre training. Such documents not only allow us to trace the history of the establishment and advancement of networks of party training establishments but also urgently remind us of the importance and responsibility of their cadre training tasks.

Life makes the conditions of our work increasingly harsher. The documents included in the third volume of the collection provide a clear idea of this fact. They indicate the way requirements concerning the level of professional training of cadres, their competence, their gaining practical experience in various material production, scientific and cultural sectors, and their ability to work with people are becoming stricter with every passing stage in the building of socialism.

"Any kind of managerial work demands special qualities," Lenin said at the 3rd All-Russian Congress of Water Transport Workers, on 15 March 1920. "One may even be the strongest revolutionary and agitator but a totally unsuitable administrator. However, those who pay attention to and have practical experience know that in order to be able to manage one must be competent, one must know fully and accurately all production conditions. One must be familiar with production technology at its current level and have a certain amount of scientific training. We must meet such conditions at all cost..." (p 57).

These Leninist requirements have retained their entire relevance to this day. The resolutions of the 23rd, 24th, 25th and 26th party congresses, the CPSU Central Committee plenums and its decrees persistently instill the idea of the importance for cadres to be profoundly and thoroughly familiar with the production process and to be specialists in their work. The fact that competence and efficiency must be the inherent features of workers on all levels and considered an imperative of the time was discussed at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenum and at party Central Committee conferences.

"We are facing tremendous tasks," M. S. Gorbachev said at the meeting between the CPSU Central Committee and veterans of the Stakhanov movement and production frontrakers and innovators. "They are great not only because in the next 15 years the country must accomplish as much as was accomplished during the entire preceding time of socialist construction. They are tremendous also because in order to fulfill our intentions, we must make use of different methods, the achievements of scientific and technical progress above all. We have all possibilities of ensuring faster progress. We have a developed science, a highly skilled working class and peasantry and the necessary material resources."

In order to bring all of this into action faster, the party committees and primary party organizations must inspire, unite and lead the collectives of all enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, scientific institutes and design bureaus. In order to ensure the powerful acceleration in the development of our society on the basis of scientific and technical progress and reach the planned heights at the start of the 3rd millennium, as was emphasized at the October 1985 Central Committee plenum, we need politically conscious, creative, purposeful and practically-minded leading scientific and technical cadres and cadres in the mass skills.

Data were cited at the 26th party congress showing that national economic specialists account for three-quarters of all central committee secretaries of communist parties of union republics and party kraykoms and gorkoms, and two-thirds of secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms. On the one hand, this

positively characterizes our party cadres. On the other, however, we must always remember that some specialists, who have gone to party management work without adequate political experience, occasionally apply administrative and economic methods in the activities of party bodies, are not accustomed to working with people and have no knowledge of psychology and pedagogy.

Elements of pedagogy are present in all of our activities in building communism, particularly in party work. Familiarity with this science and with psychology helps the party (and not only the party) manager in his work and contacts with people and in their upbringing, and organizing the working people for the solution of the major problems set by the party. Some party managers, who are knowledgeable specialists in the national economy, do not deem it necessary to consult with the people. They ignore the people's opinion and make (or simply impose) their own frequently one-sided, arbitrary decisions.

"There is yet another disease," M. S. Gorbachev said that the CPSU Central Committee meeting. "A manager would arrive at an enterprise or a construction site and would slip by the people, going straight to the installation, tractor, bulldozer or turbine, and then quietly depart." The documents included in the collection caution precisely against such "anthropophobia," against a passion for administering and other ills which afflict some of our party workers, reminding us of the need to upgrade the political training of comrades who have come to the party from production work and to help them gain knowledge in pedagogy and psychology, in the skill of communicating with people on a daily basis and gaining experience in party work.

Lenin taught that the leaders must be in the thick of the masses, that they must be familiar with their moods, know everything and be able to learn from the people. "The only way a communist manager," he wrote "can prove his right to manage is only by finding more and more helpers...by his ability to help them in their work, to promote them and to make public and take into consideration their experience" (p 65). This applied yesterday, and this applies even more so today, when the party has raised so sharply the question of the comprehensive energizing of the human factor.

Today our people have reached high political and educational standards. Under these circumstances it is more than natural for the party worker to feel the constant need to consult with people, to know how to listen to them and to consider the experience gathered in decision making acquired bit by bit. Naturally, different people look differently at the same problem. The study of the various points of view by the manager and his ability to find his way among different opinions enable him to avoid assuming a one-sided attitude and therefore help him to come closer to the truth, which is exceptionally important for success. Equally important, if not even more so, is for the people to feel his interest in their opinion and to see that the eventual decision includes even if only a part of their thoughts and suggestions. This develops in them an entirely different, a more interested attitude toward implementing a decisions. Both the individual's and the labor collective's practical, political and creative activeness increase in such cases.

M. S. Gorbachev expressed his views on this matter quite clearly: "The working people, as Lenin dreamed, are today able to participate on an equal footing in the management of the country and to resolve political and economic problems. Those who fail to understand this cannot manage, period."

The ability to seek the people's counsel and the collective formulation of decisions on economic, political, organizational or cadre problems does not free the manager from personal responsibility for decisions. Furthermore, the manager is responsible not only for his own work but also for the work of those he has promoted, for the work of his subordinates. This thought is clearly expressed in the documents included in the third volume of the collection. "The political leader," Lenin emphasized, "is responsible not only for the way he manages but also for the actions of those he manages. He is sometimes unaware of or frequently unwilling to accept this fact. Nevertheless, the responsibility remains his" (p 65).

The documents in the collection profoundly bring to light yet another most important Leninist principle of work with cadres: consideration of the people's moral qualities. Only morally impeccable people, distinguished by honesty, modesty, conscientiousness, high feeling of responsibility, duty and simplicity in their relations with others can be managers. Those entrusted with managing people must be models of discipline and principle-mindedness. They must be impartial and even-handed in their relations with subordinates; exigent but also responsive. They must not abuse their power or official position. The documents in the collection describe how mercilessly Lenin's party struggled and struggles against bureaucrats, eye-washers, bribers and loafers and against all those who make use of their managerial duties for personal gain, and to render various services to close and distant relatives, friends and simple acquaintances and people from their part of the country.

The materials in the third volume mercilessly criticize and mock workers who, suffering from "communist arrogance," stop learning, guided by the principle of "here I am and here I go," not noticing that their "cart has long fallen into a deep rut, that it is full of sluggishness, backwardness and routine. Complacency, conceit and fear of the new are "moral" qualities categorically counterindicated for a communist manager.

Naturally, Lenin's criteria in assessing managers on the basis of political, practical and moral grounds must not be considered separately. Political, practical and moral qualities characterize a person from various sides. It is only when considered in their unity and interconnection that we can acquire the most accurate idea of a worker and his ability or inability to manage.

The materials included in the third volume convincingly prove that in our country the selection of cadres takes place on a truly democratic basis. Lenin's works and the party documents clearly reveal the constant concern shown by the party committees on all levels for promoting to leading positions members of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, men and women, experienced as well as young workers and members of all nationalities in the Soviet Union inhabiting a given republic, kray or oblast, and party and nonparty members.

Unquestionably, the attention of the readers of the third volume will be drawn to the still topical Leninist thought of the need "to organize on a broad, planned, systematic and open basis the selection of the best workers for economic construction, and as administrators and organizers on the special, general, local and national scale" (p 71). This refers to avoiding the solution of cadre problems privately, refraining from locking oneself up within a small "elect" circle and consulting more frequently with the broad masses of party and nonparty members regarding personnel appointments. This makes avoiding errors in cadre work easier.

Lenin tirelessly reminded of the important of promoting more workers to managerial positions. The party has always ascribed great importance to this problem. For example, the collection includes documents from the 10th RKP(b) Congress, which instruct the Central Committee not only to promote workers to responsible positions but also to follow their work closely and to help them to become actively involved in management, centrally and locally (see p 177).

Indicative in this connection are data cited at the 24th CPSU Congress. They prove that more than 80 percent of secretaries of central committees of communist parties of union republics, kraykoms and obkoms and about 70 percent of ministers and chairmen of USSR state committees had begun their careers as workers or peasants, and that more than one-half of all directors of the biggest industrial enterprises in the country had started as workers. It was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress that "Comrades appointed to leading party work must have experienced life in the thick of the toiling masses; they must be familiar with the life of workers, peasants and intellectuals in our country and with their way of life, demands and interests not from documents but from personal experience. We must see to it that, as a rule, all party members we list as promotion reserve have undergone such training, the training of life and practical work among the masses" (p 499).

The materials in the collection remind us of how important it is to take into consideration the character features and individual inclinations of a person promoted to one position or another, in addition to the nature and features of his assignment. Practical experience has confirmed a thousand times the simple truth that if a person is given the right job this benefits both the work and the worker himself. The documents in the collection also remind us of the importance of publicizing promotions. More light is needed, Lenin said, in order properly to assign roles so that every manager is placed "on the right level." In order for collective work to be like a true orchestra, Vladimir Illich instructed, one should be given a mellow-sounding violin; another should play a fierce double bass; yet another should be entrusted with the conductor's baton (see p 22).

The materials in the volume describe in detail methods of work with cadres; they indicated the need skillfully to pair experienced with young workers and draws attention to the need for a considered and respectful attitude toward them. However, a considered attitude toward cadres does not mean in the least any sort of reduced exigency toward them or any stagnation in their progress. As was pointed out at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenum, the lengthy stay of some managers in the same position leads to the fact that some of them stop growing and learning, become accustomed to shortcomings and lose

a feeling for the new. Reality has proved that cadres must not be allowed to "stagnate," and that in order to advance matters they must be transferred at the proper time, both vertically and horizontally.

Lenin repeatedly insisted, as the collection under review shows, on the need to work more systematically and steadfastly for the promotion of fresh forces, people who have proved their worth in basic work in the center and vice-versa. "We are still doing very little for the systematic and steadfast moving of such forces upwards. This can and must be done more extensively and persistently. Some workers can and must be removed from central jobs and appointed to local positions as heads of uyezds and volosts; by establishing model order in all organizational work in such places they would be of tremendous usefulness and would contribute more to national projects than by holding any type of central position" (pp 68-69).

The resolution of the 10th RKP(b) Congress "On Problems of Party Construction" reads: "We must undertake the systematic implementation of the decree of the 8th party congress on reassigning to machine-tool and plow jobs personnel who have spent a long time in soviet or party work and putting them under ordinary worker living conditions." The same resolution stipulated that "With a view to the struggle against departmentalism, comrades must be systematically transferred from one work sector to another, so that, as a rule, such comrades could hold a given job for a while and thus show the results of their work and be answerable for them to the party..." (p 178).

Lenin ironically noted that the party members have not become bureaucratized to such an extent as to be bothered by the fact that some of them may be "demoted." The collection includes party documents on assigning party members from capitals and republic, kray and oblast centers to basic work in the political departments of sovkhozes and machine-tractor stations or as kolkhoz chairmen. Such cadre transfers are a normal party phenomenon, for the most important thing for a party member is to carry out a party assignment rather than acquire the "rank" or "position" of an official working at the center. No communist has sworn lifelong loyalty to the capital or to high positions.

The most important means of cadre upbringing and upgrading their efficiency is work publicity and daily supervision of the activities of managers of all ranks by the broad party and nonparty masses and properly organized verification of execution.

"What we need," Lenin said, "are not new decrees, new establishments or new methods of struggle. We need checking the suitability of people and verification of factual execution.... Checking the people and verifying the factual implementation of the job is, again and again, the only crux of the entire matter, of all policy" (p 118).

Most of the documents in the collection deal precisely with control and verification of execution, which is the most important aspect of the organizational work of party committees and all party organizations. We need control not only for the sake of catching and punishing someone, Lenin taught, but above all for exposing errors and shortcoming and their reasons, and learning from them, as well as redoing thoroughly, cautiously and

systematically that which was done poorly. "...Considering the type of war in which the fate of an entire class is being decided and the question of socialism or capitalism is at stake, are there sensible reasons to presume that a nation which is solving this problem for the first time will be able immediately to find the only accurate and impeccable method? On what grounds could this be assumed? None! Experience proves the opposite. There has not been a single task we have undertaken that has not required of us another solution or redoing. Experiencing defeat, going at it again, redoing everything, seeing how the problem could be resolved, perhaps not definitively but at least satisfactorily: that is how we worked, that is how one must work in the future. With our prospects, had there been no unity in our ranks, this would have been the worst indication that the exceptionally dangerous spirit of depression has entered the party. Conversely, if we are not afraid to tell bluntly even the most bitter truth, we absolutely cannot fail to learn how to overcome any and all difficulties" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, pp 209-210). "Let there be less intellectual and bureaucratic conceit," Vladimir Ilich insisted, "and more study of what we learn from our central and local practical experience and from what science has already given us" (p 67).

Included in the volume are documents which show today's reader the type of organization of control which existed during the first years of Soviet system. Lenin's instructions on this subject urgently call for struggling against bureaucratism through thorough verification of execution. In his letter to A. D. Tsyurupa on the draft directive on the work of the Labor and Defense Council (STO), the Council of People's Commissars (SNK) and the Small SNK, he writes: "The main shortcoming of said institutions is their burdening themselves with petty matters, for which reason they are drowning in bureaucratism instead of fighting it.

"Here are the reasons for this evil: 1. Weakness in affair management; 2. Inability of the people's commissars to pull themselves out of the mire of petty and bureaucratic details; 3. The desire of the people's commissars (and even more so of the bureaucrats in their departments) to shift responsibility to the SNK; 4. Finally and above all, the lack in senior workers of the awareness that today the struggle against the sea of paper, mistrust of it and eternal "reorganizations" are on the agenda, and that the primary task of the moment is not issuing decrees or reorganizations but the selecting the right people, establishing individual responsibility for accomplishments and verification of actual work. Otherwise we shall not be able to come out of the bureaucratism and red tape which are strangling us....

"Mistrust of decrees, establishments, 'reorganizations,' and officials, particularly those who are party members; struggle against the mire of bureaucratism and red tape and checking the people and verification of actual work; merciless expulsion of unnecessary officials, reducing staffs and replacing party members who do not seriously study management -- such should be the line to be followed by the people's commissars and the SNK, its chairman and his deputies" (pp 107-108).

The documents in the collection describe the work of the TsKK-RKI [Central Control Commission-Workers' Peasants' Inspection] based on the extensive

involvement in control functions of workers, peasants and party and nonparty members; the subsequent changes in the control body system to the present are described. The decrees included in the third volume, such as the party's Central Committee's decree "On Further Improving Control and Verification of Execution in the Light of the Resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress," the decrees based on the reports of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, the Saratov Obkom and the Voronezh CPSU Gorkom and many other documents extensively describe the importance of control at the present stage and the work of the primary party organizations in controlling the activities of administrations and the work of the apparatus (see pp 503-542).

The role of the primary party organizations in upgrading the responsibility of managers of all ranks for their assignments increases tangibly under contemporary conditions. A proper managerial style does not develop by itself but must be mastered. In this case, the primary party organizations must see to it that every party member profoundly realize that the higher his position is the greater becomes his responsibility to the party and the stricter become requirements concerning his party- and principle-mindedness, practicality and moral purity. The primary party organizations must promptly draw the manager's attention to his shortcomings, for the more visible they become the more noticeable they are in the primary collective in which the party member works.

"The shortcomings of a person," Lenin used to say, "are like an extension of his qualities. However, if the qualities go beyond what is necessary, if they are not present whenever and wherever they are needed, they turn into shortcomings" (op. cit., vol 44, p 323). The entire problem is to open a person's eyes on time as to when and how his qualities become shortcomings. Preventing a person from taking a wrong step, such as practicing petty tyranny, means helping him always to stay within the frame of party-mindedness. Of late the CPSU Central Committee has been persistently promoting a system according to which every manager is answerable for his actions above all to the collective in which he works. Today the primary party organizations deal as a rule with problems of taking to party task party member-managers for their actions. However, even if a reprimand has been issued by a superior party body, the latter must inform the primary party organization of its decision. This procedure, which will be codified in the CPSU bylaws, will greatly contribute to the education of managers and become an effective antidote to conceit, complacency, violation of communist morality standards and abuse of official position.

Another feature makes this collection particularly useful to party workers: in addition to materials on general principles of party cadre policy at the different stages of social development, it includes a number of documents showing features of work with soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic cadres, including those working in industry, construction, transportation, agriculture, trade and consumer services.

Today, when the party has raised so urgently the question of accelerating social development on the basis of scientific and technical progress, achieving an essentially new quality in all aspects of our life and comprehensively energizing the human factor, particularly noteworthy are

documents on improving work with party ideological cadres, scientific and engineering and technical workers and workers in public education and culture.

The draft of the new edition of the CPSU program reads: "Upgrading the level of management of state, economic and cultural construction is inseparably linked by the party with further improvements in work with cadres. The party deems it necessary for the Leninist principles of the selection and assessment of cadres on the basis of political, practical and moral qualities to be strictly observed, from top to bottom, and that public opinion be taken more fully into consideration."

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance to all party cadres of the publication of the third volume of "V. I. Lenin, KPSS ob Organizatsionno-Partiynoy Rabote." Its significance is further enhanced by the fact that the party aktiv will be inevitably substantially renovated in the course of the accountability and election meetings taking place in the party on the eve of its 27th congress. This means that the third volume will gain a new detachment of interested readers, who will find in its contents invaluable support in their implementation of the requirements of contemporary party policy and the Leninist principles of cadre selection, placement and upbringing, and control and verification of execution.

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[Review by Hero of Socialist Labor L. Kulidzhanov, Lenin Prize laureate, people's artist of the USSR, of the book "Istochnik Sily" [Source of Strength]. On the party's guidance of the development of Soviet cinematography. By Yu. Goryachev and V. Shinkarenko. Iskusstvo, Moscow, 1984, 199 pp]

[Text] In my years of work in cinematography I have frequently had the opportunity to refer to Soviet motion picture art as a powerful force in shaping social thinking and a unique means of the broadest possible way of communication among people who may speak in different languages but have the same understanding of the importance of peace in preserving civilization and developing life on our planet.

The Communist Party has never ignored the problem of cinematography. Guided by Lenin's definition of the motion picture as the most important of all the arts, it has invariably taken into consideration the features of this most widespread means of ideological influence on the people, able to surmount linguistic barriers and exert a strong intellectual and emotional impact by simultaneously appealing to the minds and hearts of the public. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for the Further Enhancement of the Ideological and Artistic Standard of Motion Pictures and Strengthening the Material and Technical Foundations of Cinematography" was a reassertion of the party's concern for cinematography. It is precisely thanks to the party's guidance--exigent yet sensitive and attentive--that Soviet cinematography has reached leading positions.

However, to use the movie expression, to very many people this specific aspect of party work has remained "outside the frame." All too few are publications which specifically describe the leading role played by the CPSU in the development of our cinematography, and even those extant are quite disparate. That is why the book under review is quite timely. In my view, its scientific value is unquestionable. It rests, above all, on the fact that the authors have been able to trace the most important aspects in the more than 60-year old history of party guidance of cinematography, based on its tremendous social role.

The authors convincingly prove the way in which, in the various stages of building socialism in the USSR and issuing the cinematographers ever new creative assignments, the party gained experience in guiding this specific sector of ideological work. V. I. Lenin indicated the need to understand the specific nature of the artist's work. The authors describe the essential features of the Leninist style of party guidance of the development of the arts: a respectful and concerned attitude toward creative workers combined with increased exigency toward the ideological-political and conceptual trend of their searches, and a profound and fine understanding of the educational role of art. The authors bring to light the continuity in the party's leadership of cinematography and the creative development of its forms and methods. They naturally and organically lead the reader to the conclusion that CPSU guidance is the natural source of strength of socialist art.

Statements by S. M. Eyzenshteyn, A. P. Dovzhenko, V. I. Pudovkin, I. A. Pyryev and other known leading figures in Soviet cinematography, included in the book, not only take the readers back to the features of one historical period or another, but also greatly substantiate the authors' conclusions and make tangible the documentary nature of their work which they base on Lenin's writings, party congress resolutions and respective Central Committee decrees, using literary and archive sources.

Although the book is aimed primarily at specialists and deals with one of the least studied topics, it is written in a popular style, which makes it accessible and interesting to a broad readership, for which reason we are somewhat puzzled by the small edition of no more than 4,000 copies.

Such high rating does not mean in the least a lack of shortcomings. The main one, we believe, is that the authors have not been always able to combine closely the two--philosophical and historical-- approaches in their presentation. Some of the problems are described incompletely and partially, although, in my view, they would have required a more profound investigation. This applies above all to the party's efforts to train a creative youth. The authors do mention something on this subject but somehow separately, although this is a rather important and complex matter. Particular attention should also have been paid to the activities of the republic party organizations in guiding their national cinematographies, and to the work of large urban party organizations, such as those of Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev, and to the party committees of the biggest studios. To a certain extent all of this has been covered in the book, although not in relation with other problems but separately, for which reason the description of the party's guidance of Soviet cinematography appears to me incomplete. Having chosen a fertile field for the application of their creative efforts, why have the authors not set themselves broader tasks? The fact that they could carry them out is confirmed by their book.

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- [Text] 1. "K. Marks, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin. O Nauke i Tekhnike" [K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin on Science and Technology]. In two volumes. Vol 1: "Obshchiye Problemy i Zakonomernosti Razvitiya Nauki i Tekhniki" [General Problems and Laws of Development of Science and Technology]. Vol 2: "Rol Nauki i Tekhniki v Razvitiu Obshchestva" [Role of Science and Technology in Societal Development]. Nauka, Moscow, 1985. Vol 1 520 pp. Vol 2 480 pp.
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